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EDITORIAL

AN INTERPRETER FOR THIS AGE

We invite attention to an unusual work. It is a book so richly furnished that any adequate account of the good things which we have found therein is not possible.

How many of the best books were written with no thought of publication ! It was not until 1936 that the reading public had an opportunity of knowing the *Pensées* of Guigue, the 12th century Prior, whose reflections were written entirely, as his editor says, " to seek humbly in the strength of his God a sure refuge for his own frailty ". Pascal likewise never published his *Pensées,* and their arrangement and particular intention has been the subject of endless discussion. And supreme in this kind of literature stand the Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. " The merit and charm of Marcus is that, wherever you take him up and whenever you lay him down, you have had communion with a wise and chastened temper." These words by Farquharson, the greatest editor of that gifted Roman, might not inaptly be used of the work which we are going to consider. For *Reflections on Life and Religion* by Sir James Baillie may justly be compared with these other works, all of which are of classic rank.

This book stands high among those which have lately appeared. A mere mention of our grounds for this opinion is alone possible. The author, who formerly occupied the chair of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen, is well known as an interpreter of Hegel. Hegel—never mind his critics—was a master, and to him we owe the concept of a constructive spiritual process which resolves all the conflicts and limitations of finite existence. His works were an inspiration to a group of powerful thinkers, of whom none were servile imitators.

An attentive reader of Baillie will hardly fail to observe the accent of Hegel—who taught that the essence of freedom was thought—lighting up many a passage in this anthology.

But this philosophic student of Christianity had turned away from technical studies to the life of an administrator and public man, and the present book contains the reflections of a mind constantly immersed in practical affairs, while deeply meditative and religious. During the busy preoccupation of an active life he kept a private commonplace book to which he committed year after year, written in a clear and felicitous style, the fruit of his deep reflection on religion. From this great aggregate of valuable material a careful selection has been made and arranged by two of his former pupils, Sir Walter Moberly and Professor Oliver de Selincourt.

It is the rare association of theoretical mastery with exceptional experience of grave affairs—and with every experience transformed by religion—which gives distinction to this book. Too often we are asked to consider speculative work of fine quality which wants only that experience of life at its best to make it great. But without those deep convictions born of the storm and tension of a full life theoretical systems are apt to seem frail. As Bosanquet insists in his Gifford lectures we require " not the mere framework of a theory " but a theory which is combined with something more —" something more and yet something inseparable; not behind or beyond the theoretical structure, but rather its informing life and spirit ". And that something is the theorist's attitude to experience. Baillie was a thinker who fulfilled Bosanquet's conditions.

Baillie deprecated knowledge which was merely theoretical. " There is nothing like a theory for blinding the eyes of a wise man." Theology is no more religion than Science is life. The coming, he writes, of God into the life of man is not an inference from data, but a revelation. The facts of spiritual experience are no less immediate than the evidence of the senses. They are indeed more immediate and more stable. They are something of which we can be immediately conscious just like our compelling acceptance of natural phenomena. God is no abstraction but " the most concrete . . . . of Realities, outside which we neither are, nor think ". The presence of God is as continuous as the beating of the human heart. " It is remarkable ", he writes, " that the closer

God comes to man, the more there is of joy in man's life."

In Baillie, then, we have found a vigorous witness to Christian truth and one whose religious comment is reinforced by a well-equipped and penetrating intellect. It is the freshness of his approach together with a lucid and convincing method of exposition—exempt from all clichés and jargon—which will give this book a special value for the work of evangelism. Some of us know how urgent is the need of such writing. " The language of the theologian needs to be translated into the vulgar tongue ", writes the Archbishop of York. " To show men whose minds are moulded by science that our faith is a faith for this age " is an urgent need writes the Dean of St. Paul's in *Christian Belief Today.* Baillie's reflections handle the major issues of Christian belief together with other less familiar problems in a style which he who runs may read. In the religious field such writing is becoming scarce. Our theologians are content to specialise. They seem to show little awareness of that other need. *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo* may be their motto. But in the past there were never wanting Churchmen who saw the necessity of reconciling the gospel with the current thought of the day. Anselm's achievement occurs to us at once, omitting many who were before him and many who came after. The demonstration of the Catholic creed on the basis of postulates which would be acceptable to his contemporaries was his aim. Such reasoning is indispensable. It fortifies the Church and it arrests the reflections of the unbeliever.

EDWIN CHADWICK

The story of Edwin Chadwick[1] gives food for some strange reflections on the mutability of popular estimates. A few students of social administration have known his name, as one of the first in that field. But to the general public, and to writers, journalists and ephemeral spokesmen of popular sentiment he is unknown. An immense achievement has passed into oblivion.

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[1] *Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement* by R. A. Lewis. Longmans, 24s.

Edwin Chadwick may have been moulded by circumstances. The genius makes his opportunity and opportunity shapes genius. But Chadwick was no ordinary man. If he had been content to choose the easy path—to avoid provocative action and make himself generally liked—he would have been no more than a good civil servant. But his mind was creative and he saw that there was much to do. His genius, his tenacity, and his impatience with social wrongs made him unpopular, but our debt to him is immense. His was the mind which originated all the major social reforms which followed the Reform Bill of 1832. The problem was vast. An unparalleled influx of workers into urban areas which in all administrative arrangements were quite unprepared for such catastrophic growth had caused extraordinary evils. Sanitation was forgotten. There was no system of drainage: no piped water fit to drink: no suitable burial grounds. All those services on the part of municipal and county authorities which we take for granted were almost unknown. But certain palliative measures devised by private undertakers were in operation. The situation in all its horror may be perused in Mr. R. A. Lewis' excellent life of Chadwick which has recently appeared. There the reader will find the whole story of Chadwick's single-handed battle with many forms of inertia and vested interest. It is a long road which he has to travel. In his career of unremitting public work is comprised the foundation on sound lines of many social services—elementary education, factory inspection, county police forces, railways, drainage, decent burial, and water supplies. Chadwick's method was novel in its empirical study of the actual facts by personal inspection and examination of witnesses *on the spot*. His voluminous reports presented his opponents—numerous although ineffective—with a form of attack for which they were quite unprepared. He was unanswerable, and could not be muzzled. Failure daunted him not at all. He returned to the attack. When his courage and spirit became known a number of enlightened public men rallied round him, and his reputation extended to continental cities. But, as commonly occurs, a genius whose vision carries him far beyond the outlook of his contemporaries—whether his sphere be that of practical affairs or the less publicised fields of art and learning—is deprived of more than partial success. The Board of Health which he had created and served for a number of years lost its mandate from Parliament in 1854. Powerful parties were against it. " There is a prima facie case against me of imprudence " he wrote to an American correspondent, " and mismeasurement of forces . . . but I knowingly entered the field against very large odds: much has been gained, and eminently large results have only been lost by small chances . . ." He mentions instances of foul dealing by his opponents. In a remarkable letter he shows the sort of obstacles which beset him as a reformer working, lonely and insufficiently staffed, at an enormous problem.

Much of this resistance to Chadwick arose out of those passions of fear and bewilderment which are apt to assail us poor humans when we are confronted by original and disturbing projects. " Suffering and evil are nature's admonitions ; they cannot be got rid of," wrote the *Economist.* But some of the opposition derived from more disinterested motives. There really were enlightened men and women in the 'fifties of the last century who feared the encroachment of a strong central government and its social consequences. Lord John Russell warned Chadwick that the English would not stand for any " German methods ". We can see what was in his mind. Chadwick had in early days been the devoted friend and personal secretary of Bentham. Bentham, nearing the end of his long life, even offered Chadwick an annuity conditional on his consent to the further propagation of the Benthamite philosophy. Chadwick refused. But Bentham, Mill and Carlyle, with all of whom Chadwick was in friendly intercourse, were all in some measure disciples of Saint-Simon, the great French prophet of " social engineering ". Chadwick was no socialist, although his movement for what he termed the " sanitary idea " and for an efficient civil service which would earn public respect seemed to his opponents socialistic. Chadwick was a Christian. He left his Wesleyan connections and came over to " the Church of Jeremy Taylor, Bishop

Berkeley and Paley." He said that the Anglican clergy evinced more concern than others for the social welfare of the poor. In anticipation of F. D. Maurice he felt a call to philanthropic administration. His career forms a magnificent passage in the social history of these islands, and even of Europe. We are often led to suppose that such benefits as popular education, care for public health and the protection of the underprivileged were the invention of some political movement of recent growth. The generalisations of political controversy are most misleading. Social welfare has a very long history, and in modern developments owes everything to Edwin Chadwick, whose acknowledged talents earned him a post in the Civil Service in 1832.

JOHN SMITH, THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONIST

AUGUST 1952 was the tercentenary of the death of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist. Born in 1618 at Achurch he went up to Cambridge in 1636 and remained there for the rest of his life. At his college, Emmanuel, a Puritan foundation, he became a pupil of Benjamin Whichcote. He was moved later by the Parliamentary commissioners to Queens' College, where he became a lecturer on mathematics. But his wide erudition in philosophy, theology, oriental languages, Rabbinical and Cabalistic Judaism is astonishing. He died in his thirty-fifth year. His "Discourses" merit a wider popularity. In their understanding of both mystical and rational religion, in their eloquent prose, they are far in advance of much current writing.

Smith has been sometimes erroneously described as a rationalist of the school of thought which led to eighteenth-century deism. He put reason very high. But reasoning from the data of sense-experience on the lines of the eighteenth-century empiricists was not in his view reasoning in the highest sense of the word. He held that to reason was to arrive at an immediate, intuitive converse with God. A distinction is made between reasoning in the sense of the Greek *dianoia* (discursive argument) and the Greek *nous* (intellectual intuition). "*Before* we laid hold on Him", Smith writes, " only with a struggling, agonistical and contentious reason

. . . we shall *then* fasten our minds upon Him with such a serene understanding . . . as will present us with a blissful, steady and invariable sight of Him."

In one passage Smith anticipates a materialism which is much more common to-day than it was in the days of Bunyan and Milton. "There is nothing that so embases and enthralls the souls of men as the dismal and dreadful thoughts of their own mortality which will not suffer them to look beyond this short span of time . . . or to look higher than these material heavens; which, though they could be stretched forth to infinity, yet would the space be too narrow for an enlightened mind that will not be confined within the compass of corporeal dimensions. These black opinions of death and the nonentity of souls . . . shrink up the freeborn spirit which is within us, which would otherwise be dilating and spreading itself boundlessly beyond all finite being. . . ."

There is much fine thought, imaginatively expressed in the characteristic prose of the seventeenth century, in these *Discourses* which treat of the method of attaining to divine knowledge, the immortality of the soul, the nature of God, of prophecy, of the excellency and nobleness of true religion.

Smith's religion was mystical in type. His teaching of the principle of a progressive union with the Divine life, and entire renunciation of self is in agreement with the principles which we find in the writings of the great Catholic mystics. Yet strangely neglected he seems to have been. The great writers on mysticism have not done justice to him. His religion is a life lived with God.

Such a remarkable and original Christian writer deserves to be known and honoured by all who appreciate the importance of the intellectual love of God. In preparing this note we have been privileged to see an article on Smith by Mr. E. I. Watkin which will appear in *Poets and Mystics*, to be published by Messrs. Sheed & Ward.

CHRONICLE

THE GERMAN SITUATION

In our last issue we wrote of the Far Eastern political scene as one which the British public did not much like to contemplate and of which comparatively little was written in the British press. With the German political scene the case is quite the opposite. The press is full of it and some of its aspects excite passionate interest; but the public seems hardly more capable of forming a considered judgement about it than about the other. This is due partly to the very fact that the public has been and is being deluged with so much information, reliable and unreliable, true and tendencious, that it finds it hard to see the wood for the trees, but still more perhaps to the further fact that each facet of the German problem is usually presented to it in isolation, so that it fails to perceive the connexion between them and tends to think that each German question can be settled on its own terms, regardless of its effect on the rest—an attitude which seems sometimes to have been adopted by the occupation authorities and even by the allied governments.

Yet the problem, if approached the other way round, from the general to the particular, is fairly simple in its broad outlines (though to say that it is simple does not, of course, imply that it is easily solved). Germany, one of the major countries of Europe, though defeated and dismembered, is, in the greater part of her, recovering her national vitality both politically and economically and can no longer be ignored in calculating the balance of power on the continent. The anti-Communist allies cannot do without a German contribution to the defence of Western Europe and they cannot get that without paying a price for it; but they must not pay too much, and above all they must not pay it in such a form that it exposes them, in the long run, to worse dangers than those which now face them. They have therefore to find the minimum concessions without which the parliament at Bonn would not accept a defence treaty; and not long ago they thought they had found them in the restoration of sovereignty to the West German Republic, subject to a few essential safeguards, and in the plan for a European army. The defence agreement, however, still remains unratified and the forces opposed to ratification have lately seemed to be gathering strength, at least in France and in Germany though not in Britain or America.

To describe the French reaction in detail is beyond the scope of this article. It can be summed up, however, as a mixture of instinctive and pardonable fear and an almost equally instinctive and less pardonable avarice, complicated by internal French politics. Politics make many Frenchmen oppose whatever their Foreign Minister, M. Schumann, proposes, avarice makes them cling to the Saar and its mines regardless of the danger of permanently alienating West German opinion and making Dr. Adenauer's position untenable by insisting on French political and economic control of a purely German territory, and fear makes them less than lukewarm in support of the European army plan, though the alternative may well be the creation of a purely German army, which would be still less to their liking.

The West German reaction is still more complex, compounded as it is of different ingredients in different parts of the country and in different sections of the population; but there are some things wanted by all Germans (other than the Communist leaders—the Communist rank and file dare not say what they want) and at the head of them come protection against Russian domination and the real unity of Germany. Dr. Adenauer and his cabinet know that the second cannot be obtained unless the first has previously been secured, and the conduct of the Russians in their zone has gone far to make this conviction shared by German opinion as a whole. As is natural, however, there are "wishful thinkers" who hope for unity on easier terms and are prone to swallow Communist propaganda for "peace talks," four-Power conferences and that sort of thing; and, as in France, the issue has been clouded and complicated by internal politics. The Socialists, looking for a stick with which to beat the Adenauer government and influenced by the personal attitude of their late leader, Herr Schuhmacher, have decided to oppose the ratification of the defence treaty; and they are joined in opposition by a number of strange allies, ranging from the Communists and the ex-Nazis, whose motives are only too obvious, to some of the Right-wing Liberal party, the so-called Free Democrats, who believe, or profess to believe that in return for the abandonment of the treaty the Russians would relax their grip on the Soviety zone of Eastern Germany. Socialist objections to the treaty, however, though based fundamentally on dislike of " capitalist " America as well as of the " reactionary " Adenauer Government, are given a more logical form and a wider popular appeal by the argument that it is an " unequal " agreement—that in effect the Western Powers are to get German help while still treating Germany as a conquered country.

It is easy to show that the Germans will be helping themselves as much as the other Powers by joining the defence organisation; but the fact remains that the defence of the West needs German help and that this will not be given unless some account is taken of legitimate German aspirations and susceptibilities. The French, as previously indicated, have not taken these sufficiently into account over the Saar: the Americans have been in principle more ready to consider them, but they seem unable to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate demands. With their usual "ham-handedness " in diplomacy they have alarmed and offended the most reliably pro-Western sections of German opinion by their wholesale releases of war criminals, by their apparent tenderness towards the Krupp interests (a policy notoriously viewed with very little enthusiasm by the British Government) and by permitting their local officials to indulge in indiscretions such as the recently disclosed attempt to form " partisan groups " of Germans prepared to " liquidate " other Germans in the event of war with Russia. The British can claim with justice a much better governmental record: even the most critical Germans admit that in their zone they have neither tried to promote political separation nor encouraged undesirable militarists and " big business ", as can be charged against the French and the Americans respectively. Nevertheless there is a debit side to the British record as a whole. Encouragement has been given to the worst elements in Germany through the glorification of Rommel's memory in this country and still more through the agitation of Lord Hankey and his friends against the Nuremberg trials and in support of the militarist doctrine that superior orders are a valid defence against charges of " war crimes "; and though British Government spokesmen have firmly repudiated that doctrine and Lord Hankey himself, having received the embarrassing tribute of a telegram from the notorious meeting of former "S.S." men addressed by ex-General Ramcke, has commented on the lines of *non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis,* the harm has been done and will not easily be undone.

British, and even American errors, however, are a relatively small factor in the problem compared with the Saar question. This threatens to bedevil the whole relationship between the Allies and Western Germany and to put the former in a morally untenable position. As *The Times* recently pointed out, their stand against the Russian proposals for a four-Power conference has been based on the need for a guarantee of really free elections throughout Germany, yet a really free election is not permitted for the Saar, where the pro-German parties can complain with some justice of pressure and persecution; and in some parliamentary circles at Bonn a parallel is even being drawn between the fate of the Saar and that of the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse line illegally incorporated in "satellite" Poland. There is of course no true parallel, for the Saarlanders have not been expelled from their homes but on the contrary are enjoying considerable economic prosperity; but the Allies would be most unwise to rely on that fact alone to counter the emotional appeal of this line of propaganda.

For if there is one view in which all Germans are united (including even, in their hearts, the Communists of the Eastern zone) it is that the Russo-Polish seizure of Pomerania, Silesia and Brandenburg east of the Oder is the most monstrous iniquity ever committed upon a nation, short of complete annihilation, and can never be accepted as final. That Hitler habitually perpetrated the same sort of iniquity, even to the point of attempted annihilation, is to the Germans of the present day neither here nor there. Even if they admitted full responsibility for all Hitler's acts—and few of them admit any share of responsibility in the plan to exterminate half of the population of Poland and enslave the other half—they could still say, as they do now, that one crime does not justify another and that nothing at all can justify the amputation from Germany lands and cities that have been Germany for nearly a thousand years and the expulsion from their homes of some seven million Germans. The Western Allies are able to say that they have never acquiesced in this robbery (though they came very near it in 1945) and this is one of their greatest moral assets with German public opinion; but if they can be represented as the robbers of purely German territory in the West, they will inevitably lose much of that asset.

Nor is that the whole danger. At the moment Dr. Adenauer's Government is prepared to accept an agreement with France which will leave her in possession of most of the economic advantages she is now drawing from the Saar; but German national sentiment, both in Germany and in the Saar itself, is bound to grow stronger if German economic and political recovery continues, as the Allies must desire in their own interests, and then the story of the Sibylline books will be repeated and the French will find the German terms for an agreement growing stiffer with each year that passes without one. The effect on German internal politics, too, will become more and more serious. Already the Saar question is being used by the Socialists, to say nothing of the Communists and the ex-Nazis, as a weapon against Dr. Adenauer and the Christian Democrats; and it is playing a large part in the struggle for power now proceeding between the liberal and the illiberal wings of the amorphous but potentially powerful Free Democratic Party, which will decide whether or not the party continues to support the Adenauer Government. The result of its recent party congress at Bad Ems is not very reassuring: it has clearly moved towards Right-wing nationalism, though it still proclaims its adhesion to the government coalition at Bonn. If it were to go into opposition, the coalition would break up and Dr. Adenauer's chances of remaining in power after the next elections would be slender, for his own party, the Christian Democrats, are now too closely identified with Roman Catholic interests to hope to govern by themselves as the majority party in a predominantly non-Catholic country. In such a situation Dr. Adenauer has no choice but to maintain his present standpoint in the Saar question and the French will be lucky if he is not forced to become still less accommodating.

The internal political situation in West Germany, indeed, has never been so fluid since the Federal Republic was formed; and never have the Allies needed more care in calculating the repercussions of their policies upon it. Neither the French nor the Americans, however, seem able to realise this, the Americans tending to regard all anti-Communist Germans as "good Germans" and to assume that it does not matter how much their own policies offend the liberal or the socialist section of German opinion, since it is all safely enrolled in the anti-Communist front, while the French would like to treat all Germans as " bad Germans ", accepting their help against Russia as grudgingly as possible and only on conditions ensuring that they derive from it no advantages beyond a bare minimum of security. It has been publicly maintained in Paris that to allow the Saar to return to Germany, even if all the inhabitants wanted this, would give Germany a great accession of strength and is *therefore* inadmissible—an argument apparently conclusive in France, though a *non-sequitur* to the rest of the world. If the Americans assume that the battle for the soul of Germany is already won, the French assume that it has long been lost; but in truth it is still continuing.

It would indeed be surprising if the battle were over by now. Every historian and every psychologist worthy the name knows that there is no such thing as a fixed national character and that it is folly to say that " the Germans (or the English for that matter) are inevitably this or that"; but the years of militarist indoctrination before 1914 and those of Nazi indoctrination before 1945 cannot fail to have left in Germany a hard core of totalitarian and anti-democratic thought and feeling, and beyond that an influence on public opinion as a whole, which in favouring political circumstances might become dominant again, as in the 1930s. The British public, which has been shocked and surprised by such incidents as the speech of ex-General Ramcke, has every right to feel shocked but no right to feel surprised: if it considered the past history and present situation in Germany, it might feel surprised that there are not more of them.

There is, however, another German tradition—a tradition of freedom, dating from at least as far back as the days of Ulrich von Hutten, reviving and flourishing in the great age of Lessing, of Schiller and of Goethe and strong enough in the last century to shake the dynasties in 1848 and to come within an ace of turning Prussia into a real constitutional monarchy in 1862, as it would have done had not Bismarck at the last moment persuaded William I to tear up the act of abdication which he had already signed and offer his people successful foreign war in place of liberty. That tradition survived even under the Hohenzollern Empire, turning the German Socialists towards " Reformism " and away from rigid

Marxist dogma and inspiring a Prince like Max of Baden, the last and the noblest of the Imperial Chancellors, to rise above the prejudices of his class and try to utilise the disasters of 1918 to recreate the liberal monarchy which Bismarck had stifled at birth in the 1860s. When the Empire had fallen it was the chief inspiration of the Weimar Constitution; and it bred a great army of martyrs under Hitler, whose concentration camps and torture chambers were first built to hold Germans, not foreigners—a fact too often forgotten in the West. It now inspires the best elements in the three major political parties of Western Germany, though in each of them it has to struggle against baser elements—against narrow clericalism in the Christian Democrats, crude nationalism in the Free Democrats and envious Marxism in the Socialists.

What then is the moral for the British Government and the British public? They are in a difficult position, for they cannot frame a separate policy towards Germany, taking no account of French or American views, without risking a break-up of the Western alliance, and yet they cannot allow themselves to be identified with policies which they regard as unwise or unjust. They may not have the power to force through their own conception of what allied policy should be, but if they are determined enough and skilful enough they may be able to play off the Americans against the French, persuading the former to help them put pressure on the latter to be reasonable over the Saar and the French to join with them in checking the American zeal to reinstate "big business" and ex-Nazis and tendency to treat as a potential communist any adviser with political or economic ideas to the Left of those of Senator Taft. There is reason to suspect, indeed, that this is more or less what Mr. Eden is trying to do now; and if anyone can bring it off, he can.

Even if the Western Powers can be united in a reasonable policy on these matters, however, it is still not certain that Germany can be turned into a reliable ally. In the last resort, of course, that depends upon the Germans themselves; but there are some things which the Powers can do to help create, at least, a climate of opinion favourable rather than unfavourable to such a development. They can, for example, take care to distinguish between national and " nationalist " sentiment and, while doing nothing to encourage the latter, refrain from opposing natural and inevitable manifestations of the former. One such manifestation—the refusal to recognise the Oder-Neisse frontier and the determination ultimately to regain the German lands to the east of it—has already been mentioned; but it needs to be emphasised, in view of what is sometimes advocated in British Labour circles, that it would be fatal to the Allies' position in Germany if the suspicion arose that they were willing to accept that frontier as part of a " deal " with the Russians. It would be equally fatal if they tried to maintain indefinitely their right to veto changes in the West German constitution and in particular treated as sacrosanct the system of extreme decentralisation imposed upon the Federal Republic at its formation, which it seems inevitable that the central government must sooner or later wish to modify. In any case of this kind—and many cases are bound to arise in the course of the next few years—they will need to remember that they cannot afford to risk alienating the better side of Germany. In spite of what may be said in France, they need German help and collaboration; and in spite of what may be said in America, they cannot yet be sure of it.

CHRONICLE

THE CRISIS IN AFRICA

THOSE who have tried for many years to arouse the nation to an understanding of its immense task in Africa cannot find much comfort in events of recent years. The Tanganyika ground-nut project helped to focus attention on conditions of life and labour, but only to expose in responsible quarters an extraordinary ignorance of the elementary facts and principles. Writers and journalists were often blind to the relevant circumstances which have always governed the success or failure of any plantation project, while statesmen, editors, publicists and, even some members of missionary societies vied with one another in their ill-informed impetuosity. Those to whom evident errors of policy and a dangerous spirit of blind dogmatism suggested a mood of doubt—*The Guardian* was among the sceptical—were attacked by others who saw some private advantage in the project.

News passes quickly in Africa, and the failure of the ground-nut scheme—not to mention other shocks to our prestige—is not forgotten by thoughtful Africans. But to-day we witness once more events which betray want of foresight and constructive policy on the part of this country. For fifty years our methods have been opportunist, although serious administrators have always recognised the far-reaching and complicated responsibilities to which we were committing ourselves. Our present Prime Minister wrote about it many years ago.

The growth of a secret and subversive movement in Kenya is not an isolated instance of native disaffection. West Africa has witnessed several. But in spite of warnings given by special commissioners employed to report on war, or riot, not much has been achieved. Parliament has continued to let Africa drift, and on the infrequent occasions when a debate takes place opinions are freely expressed which betray a wrong approach.

The first step towards a constructive policy for the African Protectorates must be the eradication of all prejudiced and misleading assumptions which stem from the common, but erroneous, belief that peoples whose history is different, who have not happened to acquire our technical skills—cars, television, and all that—are necessarily inferior to ourselves. Anyone who has been a close observer of the native in different places over a long time knows that he has qualities of heart and mind which are by no means common in any European society.

Secondly it is essential to recognise that the African while sharing much that all humans have in common is also very different from the European in important respects. One great difference lies in his awareness of the supernatural. His outlook is far removed from the materialism which affects popular thought in the West. The primitive tribesman, who knows nothing of the Christian revelation, has yet an alert consciousness of spiritual values and of man's frailty and sinfulness which would put many of us to shame. To apply the word superstition to the practice of cults which we know very little about is a great mistake. Editors who write, or publish, articles featuring native life should be persuaded to reconsider their treatment of witchcraft and all primitive rites. We have much to learn about the native attitude to problems of soul and body.

A recent letter to *The Times*, signed by Mr. E. F. Hitchcock of Tanga contains some questions which are very much to the point. He is suggesting that Parliament " needs a greater humility " in dealing with the problems of Africa about which it knows so little. In his letter—which will be endorsed by others who know Africa well—he asks a number of questions which should, as he says, " make us pause."

The present rebellion among the Kikuyu is the latest of a series of disturbances which have taken place in different parts of Africa ever since the early proclamations of British protection. These outbreaks of native discontent have never received instructed consideration. Their causes should be studied, and particular attention could with advantage be given to the manner in which such movements have been organised; although, if we generalize, we must also remember that Africa is a vast continent where one meets numerous small nations, varying greatly in character and language, even in an area of few thousnd square miles.

That African races are well able to suspend their local conflicts and unite in organised revolt against European influence was proved once and for all by the rising of 1898 in Sierra Leone. On that occasion an intelligent group of tribal rulers who really believed that European influences were harmful determined to remove from their territories every man or woman, white or black, who represented the alien power. Anglicising natives were identified by an examination of their feet, and killed. Europeans were either put to death or, in the case of some missionaries, interned. But the Chiefs had underestimated the determination of the Colonial Government. The rising was crushed.

It is not without significance that we find in the history of this same colony—in the period before British protection—a political disturbance of a kind which is likely to recur in other parts of Africa. This was the sudden expansion of a secret society, based upon an obscure survival of archaic rites, called the Leopard Men. Lycanthropy, the belief that certain humans can identify themselves with the nature of a chosen creature of the jungle, is universal. Both in the middle ages and in the ancient world it was common. In Africa the lycanthropist becomes, not a wolf—as in Greece and in Northern Europe—but a leopard, an elephant, crocodile, chimpanzee, or python. All these types have been identified within the recollection of the present writer. But the particular character of the original cult is of small importance. What became important, and might again become important in other parts of the African continent, was the ease with which persons holding influential positions and ambitious of political advancement made use of a secret cult to terrorise a whole district. In the year 1891 the Leopard Men, reinforced by many powerful adherents, whose exact motives may have varied, assumed the proportions of a widespread conspiracy not unlike Communism. The majority of tribal chiefs, however, were strong enough to deal with the situation. They acted with more insight and expedition than an alien government can exercise. They introduced from a distant country experts called Tongo Players whose practice it was to detect criminals and put them to death. Suspected persons were summoned to assemble in an open space near the principal town and the " Players ", performing a kind of ritual dance, picked out one after another of those whom they considered guilty. There was no trial. They were killed and burnt. For years a vast pile of calcined bones remained to warn evil-doers. Whatever view we may take of such methods of justice, the scandal of that secret conspiracy never reappeared on a comparable scale. Under British rule the employment of Tongo Players was made illegal, but it would be unwise to dismiss such procedure as barbarous. They had the confidence of the native public.

Such events, which are not without parallel in other parts of the continent, furnish much food for reflection. They illustrate the complexity of the problems which attend the formulation of a sound native policy. What we achieved in the early period was not without grounds for satisfaction. The hard-worked political officer has usually been a great public benefactor. But what he has done is seldom recorded. A little of his immense knowledge of local conditions is passed on orally. But more of it is lost when he retires. There is scope for far more study of native life and thought, and such study will be of little use unless it is conducted on the spot by persons who have a thorough knowledge of the vernacular. Interpretation of the native mind is essential. It cannot be effected through those persons who are ordinarily called interpreters. A central bureau for the study of African ways, independent of all political interests, and staffed by men of vision and insight, would be an invaluable addition to every colonial government. The aim would be to effect closer relations, not with those Anglicising natives whose education has familiarized them with Western forms of thought, but with the masses in rural areas who continue to live out their lives in a world almost untouched by alien influences.

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY

In the October Sessions both Houses of Convocation were occupied with questions of relations between the Church of England and other churches. His Grace the President in his Allocution devoted considerable attenion to the subject of Church relations, and especially to the meaning to be attached to the word "Intercommunion." The Upper House considered the Report entitled "Church Relations in England" (S.P.C.K., 1950), which presents the conclusions reached in talks between representatives of the Church of England and representatives of various Free Churches in England. The Report, after being introduced in a lengthy speech by the Bishop of Derby, who had been chairman at the meetings with the Free Church representatives, was fully discussed by the Upper House. Though a note of caution was sounded upon such matters as the nature of episcopacy, the House was generally sympathetic towards the suggestions put forward in the Report and passed the following resolutions:—

> " 1. That the Report ' Church Relations in England ' be received and commended for consideration.
>
> " 2. That his Grace the President be requested to appoint a Joint Committee of both Houses to study and report on the implications of the Report ' Church Relations in England ' with power to consult with any similar committee of the Convocation of York.
>
> " 3. That consideration be given, in the light of the eventual Report of the suggested Joint Committee, to the possibility of opening conversations along the lines suggested in the Report with individual Free Churches, with special regard to the Report presented by the Faith and Order Committee of the Methodist Church to the 1952 Methodist Conference."

It was felt that further progress could best be made by talks between the Church of England and a particular Free Church rather than by a resumed conference with representatives of several different Free Churches; and since the Methodist Church was the only one which had officially considered the Report, it was decided that talks should first be arranged, if possible, with this body.

The Lower House considered the Resolutions on Relations with the Church of Scotland, which had been discussed by the Upper House at the last Group of Sessions. After the Dean of Chichester had stated his misgivings about the methods being followed in attempts to promote Christian union, the Lower House agreed that, inasmuch as there were statements in the Report of the Conference with the Church of Scotland to which the House was not prepared to commit itself, it would be wiser not to " welcome " the Report. After receiving the Report, therefore, it passed the following amended resolution: " That this House commends the said Report to the sympathetic attention and careful consideration of the Church." An amendment that the House regretted the absence from the talks of official representatives of the Episcopal Church in Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in England was rejected; but in the next amendment, after agreeing that steps should be taken to promote a resumed series of conversations, the House added that it respectfully requested that " in such conversations official representatives of the Episcopal Church in Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in England should be included." The above amended versions of Resolutions 1 and 2 were subsequently accepted by the Upper House. The Lower House then accepted the next resolution, calling for (1) an occasional interchange of official courtesies between the two Churches, (2) occasional exchanges of theological teachers and students, and (3) more effective provision for the exchange of information between the two Churches. Finally, in regard to the crucial resolution concerning the interchange of preachers, the Lower House (ultimately) agreed to the resolution, with the proviso (a) that ministers of the Church of Scotland should be permitted to preach in Anglican churches under the same conditions as those laid down for Free Church preachers by the Convocation resolutions of 1943; and (b) that ministers of the Church of England, invited to preach in churches of the Church of Scotland, might do so, " subject, in accordance with ecclesiastical usage, to the consent of the appropriate bishop of the Episcopal Church in Scotland." The House also agreed that baptized communicant members of the Church of Scotland, when cut off from convenient access to the ministrations of their own Church, or in special personal circumstanes, might be admitted to Holy Communion in the Church of England, subject to the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese. Complete agreement was thus reached between the two Houses on these resolutions concerning relations with the Church of Scotland.

The other matter with which the two Houses dealt was Canon Law Revision. Various points of disagreement, mainly verbal, between the two Houses in Canons between LVII and LXXXII were discussed and in most cases resolved. With regard to Canons LXXXIV and LXXXV concerning the Order of Deaconesses, the alterations suggested by the Lower House led his Grace the President in the Upper House to make a long, weighty and noble speech on the nature of the Order of Deaconesses and the status of women in the Church, which will be printed in full in the forthcoming issue of the *Chronicle of Convocation* and should be widely read. In the upshot the Upper House made an amendment in Canon LXXXV to meet the point raised by the Lower House and an amendment in Clause 4 of Canon LXXXIV for the same purpose; but they refused to agree with the Lower House in the deletion of the words " of Ministry " from the phrase used of Deaconesses, namely, " Order of Ministry ", though the Archbishop made it clear that the Order of Deaconesses is an Order " sui generis " and that Deaconesses are not in " Holy Orders." The Upper House then proceeded to consider Canons XCV to CVII, which concern the furnishings of churches, and among other things resolved (after an interesting discussion) that altars might be constructed of "wood, stone or other suitable material."

The Lower House began by considering Canons LXIII and LXIV. In regard to the former the debate centred mainly on the question of the right of every clergyman to have a general licence in the Church. The Rev. C. E. Douglas failed in the end to persuade the House on this point, and the first five clauses were passed almost without alteration; but clause 6 was referred for redrafting, as was also Canon LXIV. The House then proceeded to a consideration of Canons LXXXVII to XCIV, dealing with Churchwardens, Parish Clerks, and Readers. Various minor amendments were made in these Canons; but Canon XC " Of Parish Clerks ", was deleted altogether, on the ground that the office is an archaic survival not found in the vast majority of parishes. In the

Canons on Readers the Lower House omitted from the duties to be assigned to Readers the receiving and presenting of the alms of the people and the permission to administer the Chalice at Holy Communion.

At the end of the last day of the Sessions a motion was discussed in the Lower House protesting against a statement on the subject of angels, issued from the Church Information Board in connection with a recent public dispute: but in regard to this, it was agreed that "the question be not now put." A further motion discussed by the House, and in this case passed, protested against a recent article in the daily evening Press on the work of Convocation.

No meeting of Convocation will take place in January, 1953, and the next Group of Sessions will be from May 5 to 8.

A. F. SMETHURST.

NOTES

THE NEW TESTAMENT

Archdeacon Adam Fox has written a book which is notable for its lucidity and wit. These are qualities for which we look in vain when reading much that is offered. *Meet the Greek Testament* is intended for those who have little or no Greek. But scholars, also, will read it, for it is one of those books in which philology becomes a vehicle for spiritual exposition. It is necessary to know how the text has been handed down, so part of the book discusses palæographical matters. But this precedes a dialogue in which we are brought to a discussion of some eighteen Greek words which convey the basic ideas of the Christian religion. It makes good reading. The neglect of Greek studies is not the least of those evils which handicap the Church of England to-day.

DELINQUENCY

Juvenile Delinquency: A great number of works on Juvenile Delinquency have appeared in English during the last ten years. The latest by Dr. J. W. D. Pearce provides an admirable survey of the subject. What is the cause of delinquency? A detailed account of the numerous theories put forward by writers after specialised study in different fields shows that there is very little knowledge which can be accepted as definite and proven. As so often happens in psychological studies, the standard has not been very high methodologically speaking. Psychology offers scope for error—errors due to obvious faults in formal logic, failure to justify presuppositions which are unconsciously taken for granted, and a readiness to jump at inferences which are not supported by data clearly established. Dr. Pearce has some wise observations on this subject. " The time is not yet ripe " he says " for the development of a body of agreed thought and doctrine".

This book will be widely read. Dr. Pearce is no amateur. His material is abundant and it is well arranged. Parents and teachers should read it, and it will be useful to doctors and lawyers. Psychology is important, but " a little knowledge is a dangerous thing ". Dr. Pearce has drunk deep. He is alive to the pitfalls which dog the footsteps of the psychologist. He can tell us what we know, and, also, what we do not know. What we do not know—there's the rub. It is the limits of human knowledge which are so often ignored, and not in criminology alone.

On the general issue we cannot enlarge. It is a grave problem, where the provision of free education and the other benefits of collective responsibility is accompanied by a great increase of crime. " You cannot touch me: I am only seven " said one misguided little person to a policeman who caught him in an act of larceny. The idea of discipline is no longer esteemed. And parents who practice no self-discipline are a poor example to the young. But some children are evidently brought up to accept crime as something which society condones, or even admires. Editors of popular journals show their bad taste by featuring the abominable news from the courts; the cinema and even the radio seem to treat crime as a form of popular amusement; public men and women are not ashamed to admit that their favourite reading is, not one of the treasures of our literature, as one would suppose, but the latest crime story.

In these days when our imperial trusteeship is so jealously observed it is a great misfortune that the world may witness in a professed by Christian country forms of crime and moral decay which are unknown in more primitive societies.

SOUTH AFRICA

An independent comment on the political situation in South Africa is made by Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft in a report published by the World Council of Churches. The General Secretary notes that the present conflict is really a struggle for power between different elements in the non-African population. In some measure it is a legacy from the troubles of the nineteenth century and the South African War. It is aggravated by the conflicting views of a very conservative farming community and a progressive industrial element.

Yet, as Dr. Visser 't Hooft emphasizes, the crucial problem is the racial one. His contacts with native leaders taught him that they had no confidence in any political party. We can endorse this. But such a mood of frustration omens no good for the government, or the country. The Union of South Africa with its many difficult problems and its great commercial and educational developments ought to be taking a lead in the threshing out of a positive policy for African development. Can anyone say that it does so?

CHAIM WEIZMANN

The achievement of Chaim Weizmann will always be memorable. To him, more than to anyone else, lies the credit for bringing to fruition the project, not long ago described by leading statesmen as fantastic, of the Israel state. This unknown Jew, born in the Pripet marshes of Russia, educated in Switzerland, came to England without means or influence, to earn his living as a research worker in chemistry while imbued with a passionate enthusiasm for the Zionist cause. He brought an introduction to Professor W. H. Perkin whose father had been the famous discoverer of aniline dyes. Weizmann was an expert in the same field. It was at Mancehster that he worked and became established. His intellectual and moral qualities won the admiration of Balfour and other statesmen and, in the face of repeated disappointments, he gained his end. Had there not been in the Zionist movement this remarkable man, ready to act with courage and skill when the opportunity came, there would not have been the great developments which we have seen.

A DONCASTER CENTENARY

Doncaster is to commemorate the centenary of the rebuilding of its parish church after the disastrous fire of February 28, 1853. The commemoration will continue for five years, for the new church, a beautiful example of the work of Gilbert Scott, was not consecrated until 1858. We print on another page an article on Vaughan who was Vicar of Doncaster, and a first Vaughan Memorial Lecture will be delivered by the author, Principal R. R. Williams, at the Grammar School in May. The Vicar of Doncaster, Canon H. G. G. Herklots, in to be congratulated on the excellent plans which he is making for this centenary, and we hope that they will bear fruit in strengthening the church fellowship in Doncaster.

A correspondent has directed our attention to a passage in Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion* which refers to Vaughan. The historian is writing of St. Bernard: "The Bible became bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. Thus men noted that, when he spoke from the Bible, it was as if he were composing, and not repeating; as if the Holy Ghost were speaking directly from his mouth. Some men will still remember how the late Dean Vaughan was accustomed to read the Pauline epistles with a quiet depth of conviction, and an exact justice of emphasis born of lifelong study, which gave the impression that he himself was reasoning with the congregation in his own words, rather than rehearsing those of another". Coulton was himself one of Vaughan's pupils and in his autobiography, *Four Score Years*, he pays a tribute to that great teacher whose constant practice was to inculcate moral and intellectual self-reliance rather than to mould the pupil into the lines of some preconceived pattern.

THE REPAIR OF CHURCH ROOFS

An important report, *Church Roof Coverings* (published by *The Builder*, price 2s. 3d.) has been issued by a committee of architects set up by the Central Council for the Care of Churches jointly with the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

Many materials are considered, but none is nearly so good as lead. If lead has fallen into disrepair it should be recast and replaced. To remove a lead roof and substitute some other material is wrong from every point of view. Zinc is definitely not recommended. Tiles may be used when durably fixed. The two bodies who are responsible for this report deserve our thanks. So many acts of vandalism, caused by ignorance and bad taste, are committed in churches, both ancient and modern.

ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES

A review of Professor C. H. Dodd's recent book *According To The Scriptures* will appear in our next issue. The frequency of quotations from the Old Testament in New Testament writers is familiar to all. Dr. Dodd brings out the influence which certain texts from the O.T. wielded with preachers of the primitive Christian church.

AFTER LUND

A Theological Postscript

By H. E. W. TURNER

THE recent World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lund has raised in the mind of one Anglican delegate a series of questions on the theological background of Inter-Church relations which appear to him to be ripe for reconsideration especially by those who belong to the more Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England. They are offered in no spirit of criticism, but rather in the belief that they are still in need of clarification, by one who does not find his own views altogether easy to label but certainly stands closer to this part of the Church than to any other.

I.

It emerged at Lund that, while many appeared to be prepared to accept episcopacy within the Reunited Church as a fact, they found real difficulty in seeing in the Anglican insistence upon a particular phrasing of this doctrine (the Apostolic Succession) more than the hypostatisation of a point of order. While they could readily respect the honesty and sincerity with which this doctrine was maintained by many Anglicans, public statement and private conversation revealed that they were either at sea or very doubtful about the spiritual and theological issues involved. Much positive work needs to be done to explain the content of the doctrine to those who do not accept it and who suspect that many Anglicans treat it rather as a thing in itself than, for example, as one element in a complex whole of faith and order, life and worship as the Orthodox claim to do. The idea, for example, of the Historic Episcopate in Apostolic Succession as providing the necessary focus for the whole sacramental life of the Church needs to be explained and explored more fully. And such expositions of the doctrine would need to take more fully into account the many criticisms which have been raised against the doctrine on historical and theological grounds. What, for instance, is to be made of articles like those of Dr. Einar Molland and the Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, in recent numbers of the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*? How can the doctrine be stated to meet the criticisms that it implies a canalisation or even a bureaucracy of Grace? It is not enough to dismiss such criticisms as superficial or ill-informed. Their real theological force needs to be taken into account. They do not appear to me to be final objections but it is important that the doctrine should be stated in such a form as to do justice to the real difficulties and to face them sympathetically and honestly.

But where, above all, clarification appears to be necessary is a positive declaration, as far as possible in agreed terms, of what the more Anglo-Catholic portions of the Church of England really regard as the determinative factors in the complex problem of Inter-Church relations. They owe it not only to those outside the Anglican Communion with whom we are being brought into increasingly close and friendly relations, but also to the whole Church of England herself to help to dispel the bewilderment which appears to arise whenever closer relations between the Anglican Church and other Churches is seriously raised. This " Theological Postscript " is offered as an attempt to focus certain issues and to raise questions which appear urgently to need an answer. If its tone may appear at times polemic, its intention at least is irenic.

Within the Church of England herself the situation seems to be much as follows. There coexist within a common fabric of Order different views about Church Order and the conditions necessary for the celebration of the Sacraments. Yet, because of this common " coverage " of Order no one need feel scruple or doubt about the Sacraments celebrated by those with whom he is not in full doctrinal agreement. There is certainly tension from time to time but this is normally a healthy tension which contributes to unity. There has in fact in the last fifty years been a widespread growing together within the Anglican Church and the right of those who disagree with us to be considered Anglicans *optimo jure* is not for a moment in question. The great majority of Anglicans communicate with each other without making any difference, and all alike would feel it intolerable if they were exposed to elaborate cross-questioning by some would-be communicant before he felt able to make his communion at any particular Church within our Communion. All intend to do what Our Lord did at the Last Supper and all Anglicans have precisely the same warrant of Order for celebrating the Holy Mysteries.

If this is a correct account of the actual position within the Anglican Church, then it would appear to follow that we cannot ask of those who would enter into fuller fellowship with us more than we ask of our own membership. The Anglican situation is indeed plain for all to see. It cannot (and need not) be hidden under a bushel. The slightest taint of seeking to deal with those who are not in Organic Unity with ourselves more hardly than we do with each other is bound to cause bewilderment and bitterness. Do Anglo-Catholics really expect of those who would enter into relations of Organic Union with us a full belief in Apostolic Succession or simply the acceptance of a Historic Episcopate which is *de facto* in such succession? A long step forward in Inter-Church Relations would be taken if it could be stated quite explicitly that the latter rather than the former view is their avowed intention. There is a helpful analogy between the restoration of Organic Unity and the Institution of Christian Marriage. We should all acknowledge the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony merely as the beginning of a growth together in a common life. What is begun at the Altar must be implemented and worked out in daily life. Similarly after the reestablishment, late or soon, of Organic Unity, there will begin a mutual exploration and appreciation of each other's heritage, in a word, a new stage in our discovery of each other as Churches. To insist upon more than the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate as a fact before Organic Reunion with non-episcopal Churches would be comparable to a demand that a young couple coming to the Altar in the Sacrament of Marriage should already have that increasing mutual self-knowledge of each other which can only come from years of sharing life together. There are some elements in the present divided heritages of the churches which can only be learnt within the same family circle. Growth together does not end at Organic Reunion; it only begins there. The value of the Historic Episcopate accepted as a fact and the spiritual meaning of the Apostolic Succession appear to be of this order.

The Anglican Communion clearly cannot retreat from its witness that the Form of a Reunited Church must be the Historic

Episcopate in a Succesion which is *de facto* Apostolic. Any attempt to press for more than this in our relations with non-episcopal Churches would seem to involve a *husteron proteron*—a back to front procedure which demands *ab extra* assent to doctrines of which the value can only be learnt *ab intra*.

II.

The impression is often given (e.g. to Lutherans) that the Anglican Church is much more in earnest about Order than about Faith. There are certainly good pragmatic grounds for giving such an impression. Our own unity of Order which is the very precondition of our growth together of late years may well account for the impression of an over-emphasis upon it in our conversations with those of other traditions. Moreover we can only be grateful that we do not need an anxious scrutiny of each others Eucharistic Theology before communicating at the Altar. Yet a radical rethinking of the whole relation of Faith and Order would be of the utmost importance for Anglican theology as a whole. Is it possible that in our very anxiety to press for a particular common Order in a Reunited Church we tend to forget the context of Faith in which it must always be set? It is perhaps significant that at Lund some who belonged to non-episcopal Churches were more impressed by the Orthodox insistence upon a whole of Faith and Order, life and worship than by the tendency of some Anglicans to over-emphasize and thus to appear to isolate the question of Order. A more vigorous attempt to relate these two factors would do much for mutual understandieng. I am sure that our real position is not adequately expounded where both these elements are not given equal weight and a more rounded exposition of the place which Apostolic Succession occupies in our theology of the life of Grace would go far to dispel the illusion that Apostolic Succession itself is an indigestible doctrinal " surd " or an ecclesiastical point of order.

So far perhaps we might remain in agreement. The Anglo-Catholic theologian has his theology ready; he is prepared to expound it with due and sympathetic regard to the criticisms which have been levelled against it. Is it possible that a further corollary might be drawn from this need to take matters of faith and order together? If we tried to do so, we might become clearer on the question of fuller Sacramental Fellowship with the Lutheran Churches of Scandinavia and of Germany. Difficulties do not, of course arise with regard to the Churches of Sweden and Finland which possess the Apostolic Succession. But what of the Churches of Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Germany which do not possess the Historic Episcopate in Apostolic Succession? Some of us were surprised to discover the Lutheran insistence upon the formula " in, with and under " to express the relation between the Body and Blood of Our Lord and the elements of Bread and Wine. Indeed in certain conservative Lutheran circles it appears that this formula takes the place which Apostolic Succession takes for many High Anglicans as the prerequisite for closer sacramental fellowship. Is it possible that without weakening in the least our witness to the Historic Episcopate as the necessary Form of the Reunited Church we might safely and willingly accept the mutual admission of communicants to each others Altars in each others countries with Churches of the Lutheran Tradition? If the Ministry of some of these Churches is from our point of view defective, their profession of faith in the Sacramental Presence might well be regarded as counterbalancing the defect in their Orders and justify the extension of the principle of Economy. Clearly if Faith and Order are taken together a strong case can here be made out for some measure of sacramental fellowship with Churches of the Lutheran Confession.

The whole position of the Anglican Church would be greatly clarified and the necessary atmosphere for further progress along the road towards Organic Reunion could be made if agreement on some such points as the following within the Anglican Communion could be reached. (1) It is not always realised that phrases like the Historic Episcopate and still more " apostolic succession " are not neutral terms to those who do not possess them, but are charged with an emotional force which not even the explanations of the last few decades have been able to dispel completely. We need to make as clear as we can that by episcopacy we do not mean prelacy and that there may well be forms which the Historic Episcopate may in the future take which lie outside present Anglican understanding. No one pretends that we have really as yet exhausted the content of episcopacy. The tension between his role as Father in God, Guardian of the Faith and Chief Administrator of Sacraments within his diocese and the pressure of clerical bureaucracy to which he must continually turn his attention is the predicament in which many a modern Anglican bishop finds himself. This cannot be the final stage in the evolution of the Historic Episcopate. And we can well admit that there are elements preserved in practice in the presbyterian and congregational Church Orders which can with advantage " take into our system."

(2) It should however correspondingly be made clear that for Anglicans the emphasis upon episcopacy is not a controversy about names but about things, that, when we speak of episcopacy we do mean nothing less than the Historic Episcopate in Apostolic Succession. This is vital for the many Anglicans who find therein a sacramental focus which is for them nothing short of a doctrinal necessity.

(3) The ground however would be cleared considerably if we were able to state that we did not require the acceptance of the theory of Apostolic Succession in those who sought to join with us in organic reunion. While I for one do not see how many of the non-episcopal Church who should be in unity with us could conscientiously accept a doctrine which appears so foreign to their whole heritage, it may well prove possible for them to accept as a fact conditions which, while doubtful to themselves are necessary to others. With apologies to Newman we need a new " Grammar of Dissent " which can pass beyond " I don't agree " though " I see your point though I can't myself accept it " to a new position " I see what you mean, I still don't accept it, but I am willing to give you the conditions which you regard as necessary for the sacramental life of your members ". It would not appear at all impossible that many of the non-episcopal Churches, provided that the previous point was made thoroughly, would be prepared to take up such a position.

(4) In any scheme for Organic Reunion it would be much better to avoid stating negatively that no theory of episcopacy is implied in the Union, but rather to state frankly and honestly that two theories of episcopacy can coexist within such a Church. This is preferable either to a conspiracy of silence on the point or to a minimalising statement to the effect that episcopacy may be regarded as a " good thing ".

I hope that I shall be acquitted of the charge of trying to " sell " episcopacy at " bargain " prices. Nothing is further from my mind.

Episcopacy is not for sale by Dutch auction or by any other means. But I am genuinely anxious that the Anglican Communion which holds this (among other things) in trust for the whole non-episcopal world should not confuse the issue through absence of a sympathetic and realistic understanding of those who have for centuries been non-episcopal or even actively anti-episcopal. Just as there are many who are atheist about that which is not God at all, so there are many who are non-episcopal to-day because their forefathers were confronted by a pattern of episcopacy which we have to-day outgrown. We owe it to them to be not only as explicit but also as conciliatory as we can. And we cannot ask of them more than we ask of ourselves or more than they can with a good conscience accept. If agreement could be reached by the Anglican Church upon some such lines as I have tried to outline above, I am convinced that a long positive step forward would be taken without any loss of principle on our own part.

III.

In a previous article in *Theology* on the subject of Supplemental Ordination, I urged the necessity for a much more realistic and positive approach to the question of non-episcopal ministries. Many Anglo-Catholic theologians for whom I have the greatest respect seem much clearer about what these ministries lack than about what they possess. Yet it is a matter of principle, not merely of pride that no non-episcopally ordained minister can disown his own heritage of which he has no reason to be ashamed.

It was at one time fashionable to make a contrast between the prophetic and priestly ministries in this connexion. Superficially there is something to be said for this contrast. There is a prophetic " Mystik " of the Word in some Protestant circles to which many Anglicans feel themselves strangers and in which few of us move with real freedom. The theological questions about what is believed to be taking place at the sermon have scarcely begun to be asked in many circles. There is a wide difference between the Proclamation of the Word in which Christ is lifted up for the adoration of and reception by the people and the five-minute " chat about God " from the chancel steps which sometimes passes for a sermon at a Sung Eucharist. Between these two extremes of High Protestant and Low Catholic preaching there are, of course, many intermediate steps in which both traditions stand closer together. Again many Anglicans would feel that non-episcopally ordained ministers could not perform a Catholic Eucharist. In this opinion I think that many of those non-episcopally ordained would agree with them though possibly on other grounds. Yet even allowing for these obvious points of difference the similarity in our commissions is perhaps greater than has often been realised. The Anglican tradition of Ministerial Priesthood is expressly a Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. So in effect is that of many, if not all, non-episcopal Churches. A more realistic acceptance of this fact would have important consequences for Inter-Church relations. Non-episcopal ministries are not from the Anglican point of view everything; need we in our anxiety to maintain this so often give the impression that they are nothing? They have the same intention at the Holy Communion to what Christ did at the Last Supper. Their administration of the Holy Communion is controlled like ours by the Words of Institution. No doubt from our point of view they lack the full context of the episcopal Church Order which we also find essential for the administration of the sacraments. Is this difference really one of kind or is it rather one of degree? It may indeed be a serious defect but is it sufficient to deprive them of a genuine, if partial *traditio ministrandi*? I cannot persuade myself that it is. Would the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate as we understand it by a Church which did not possess it lead to the creation of a ministry where one did not exist before, or rather to the completion of a ministry which was in some real sense present already? Many outside the Anglican Church suspect that we mean the first; ought we on grounds of theological principle as well as of Christian charity to go beyond the second?

Once again a frank and positive theological approach to questions like these would do much to clear the air and to create a new and more favourable atmosphere to the quest for organic unity.

IV.

There are indications that the approach to Reunion through the method of Supplemental Ordination is less favourably regarded than it was twenty years ago. The difficulty appears to lie in the feeling that its success depends upon the acceptance by both sides of a latent ambiguity. Many Anglo-Catholics say frankly that they do not believe that anything would be added to their ministries by the laying on of hands by non-episcopal ministries. And even Evangelical theologians for whose views I have the greatest respect are less favourable to this approach than they once were. Those who are non episcopally ordained again suspect an attempt to ordain them *de novo* by ambiguity.

Does this chorus of dissent mean that the search for unity along these lines must be abandoned as belonging to a period of compromising formulae which has been outgrown in favour of a more direct and radical theological approach to our differences? It may well be so, but I do not think that this is necessarily the case.

It is possible that a more favourable background of theory for the practice might be based on some such propositionse as the following.

(a) A recognition that non-episcopal Churches have in fact preserved a *traditio ministrandi* of the Word and Sacraments which, if lacking an element which we should regard as essential, constitutes a positive part of their own spiritual heritage. Progress towards such a recognition may well be made through the study of what in ecumenical circles is called the question of the *vestigia ecclesiae*—what is preserved on both sides of a schism.

(b) A frank recognition from the episcopal side that what is sought by this means is the completion of non-episcopal ministries, not the creation of ministers *de novo.*

(c) An expectation that we ourselves should through the act of two-sided supplemental ordination receive a corresponding gift from God. It is not altogether easy to give precise expression to this, but it might be expressed somewhat as follows. Through supplemental ordination an episcopally ordained minister would be put into sacramental possession of whatever in the non-episcopal pattern of ministry we may at present lack or undervalue. The proper way of entering into the spiritual heritage of other *traditiones ministrandi* would be by the laying on of hands followed by the common life together within an organically reunited Church.

(d) It would follow from this that, while perhaps both sides may not receive the same gifts from God in supplemental ordination, there is a mutual giving and receiving which will in fact complete what each already possesses.

We all recognise two-sided guilt for the origin and maintenance of our schisms. Our heritages need each other and many on both sides of our divisions believe that we ought never to have grown up in isolation from each other. Those who stand most stiffly by their positions must ask themselves afresh whether, in fact, all that they demand of the non-episcopal Churches as the price for organic reunion is really essential and whether what must appear to those outside to be their intransigeance is really the best commendation of the principles for which they rightly contend. Many within the non-episcopal Churches appear to be ready to make costly sacrifices for the sake of Organic Reunion. These sacrifices involve the adventurous acceptance in faith of elements which are not only historically alien to their traditions but even in some cases matters against which their very secession was a protest. Is it possible that the claims of theological principle and of Christian charity can in fact be brought closer together than many Anglicans seem able at present to admit?

ACTON IN PERSPECTIVE

By G. E. FASNACHT

ACTON has many monuments to his memory. One is the great collection of his books housed in the Acton wing of the Cambridge University Library. A printed catalogue of the volumes in the Acton Library of which previously the University did not possess a single copy occupies four volumes. There are the seven hundred notebooks and boxes of manuscripts which are treasured in the same Library. There is the *English Historical Review* which Acton helped to found, and whose reputation he made by a single article in its first number. There is the Cambridge Modern History, which he designed, and its numerous offspring—the Mediaeval and the Ancient Histories, the Cambridge Economic History, and the projected new Cambridge Modern History. There are the seven previous volumes of his writings—essays, and lectures, and letters. Now, a new monument is being erected, which may prove to be the most important of all—a collected edition of his works. For this new monument Mr. Douglas Woodruff lays the foundations with a volume of Acton's early essays never previously reprinted[1]. It is an inestimable boon to all students of Acton, and of the greatest value to any attentive reader. The volume is introduced by a graceful and important essay, and is supplemented by an invaluable biographical index of nearly fifty pages.

At first sight there is a contrast between the early Acton, and the more familiar figure of the Cambridge Regius Professor of Modern History. A closer view reveals the remarkable continuity of his main interests throughout life. These turned on " the wavy line " between Church and State, the point where politics and ethics meet, the great realm of the logic of choice.

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[1] Essays on Church and State. By Lord Acton. Edited and introduced by Douglas Woodruff. Hollis and Carter. 30s.

These early essays belong to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, when the serious study of history was only a generation old. Like Erasmus in the first renaissance, Acton was anxious that the new learning should benefit religion, and the profoundness of his own faith made him quite fearless in embracing the findings of historical research and in proclaiming perfect freedom as its necessary condition. Truth could not contradict itself, and if historical science seemed to damage some religious interest it could not, if true, damage the fundamental interests of religion. At the very beginning of the first essay here printed he proclaims that truth is evolved from the inexhaustible tradition of the teaching of our Lord, and that the full exposition of truth is the great object for which the existence of mankind is prolonged on earth. In Acton's view history and Christianity were one. Christianity means not a metaphysical system, but the history of Christianity, and a candid mind could not study history deeply without facing the fact that there is a Power behind the universe. History, he believed, tended towards religion as much as natural science seemed to tend the other way.

History is continuity. He came to find that continuity less in institutions than in the ideas institutions embody, and above all, the supreme idea, which is the Form of the Good. The condition of its working is freedom, and politics is the security for freedom. Just as the history of doctrine is the kernel of ecclesiastical history, so the history of political doctrine is the soul of general history. That is the great meeting point of all the social sciences.

Acton made only two claims for himself. He claimed to be a student of history, and he claimed to be fallible. We can advance other claims on his behalf. He was sincere—sincere beyond generosity and chivalry, to the borders of the Quixotic. He was so anxious to avoid the shadow of unfairness in argument that sometimes, one thinks, he is almost less than fair to his own standpoint. The attempt to reach such an exquisite perfection could not fail to be liable to some degree of misunderstanding, both then and now. For Acton it was the test of sincerity to try to state a stronger case for the view he rejected than its supporters could furnish. So that a superficial observer might be unsure where he really stood. He had, again, a more absolute conception of human science than is customary today. And it may be that in his early days he realized insufficiently that history has to be interpreted. He once wrote that philosophy fixes thought at a certain point, but history brings the whole to bear. So that ideally, for him, history must have included time future as well as time past, and I think, that in the last analysis he should have held, and perhaps did hold, that Eternity is not so much an ingredient in Time, as that Time is an aspect of Eternity.

In the pages of the present volume there are many points at which the balance of his thought is different from what it later became. Here he thinks Gladstone deceives himself, and Locke of little account. His view of slavery is complex. He came to think Gladstone the greatest English statesman, Locke nearly the principal classic on toleration, and the abolition of slavery the great example of the working of conscience.

Acton's intellectual history is one of the most fascinating problems in the records of scholarship. In this volume is collected much of the essential material for the study of its first chapter.

Acton's learning was legendary and beyond computation. I believe that his piety was even greater. We cannot say that he was the greatest of all historians. We can say that he has a claim to be considered one of the greatest of all students of history.

II

A man, said Acton, writes other things with his talents, history with his character. His Cambridge editors said that Acton's greatest masterpiece was himself. His own doctrine was that fullness of knowledge, and nothing else, must confirm every good cause, and expose the bad.

What was the nature of his character and achievement? Completeness and sincerity.

Twice Acton painted his own portrait. In the *Inaugural* he wrote: A man of ordinary proportion or inferior metal knows not how to think out the rounded circle of his thought, how to divest his will of its surroundings and to rise above the pressure of time and race and circumstance, to choose the star that guides his course, to correct, and test, and assay his convictions by the light within, and, with a resolute conscience and ideal courage, to remodel and reconstitute the character which birth and education gave him.

In a private paper, *The Character of Adrian,* as we may call it, is another ideal portrait, in which the following words occur: He had disciplined his soul with such wisdom and energy as to make it the obedient and spontaneous instrument of God's will.

Acton's life was an *Imitatio.* How could a man whose chosen field was historical study believe that he had chosen right ? By believing that it was possible for mankind to learn from past experience. Every part of Modern History, he said, is weighty with inestimable lessons that we must learn by experience and at a great price, if we know not how to profit by the example and teaching of those who have gone before us, in a society largely resembling the one we live in.

What was the " lesson " ? The lesson was constitutional government, which is the security for freedom. Liberty, said Acton, is so holy a thing that the existence of evil is the price which God is forced to pay in order that it may exist.

Acton has been called an optimist. But he repudiated the doctrine that we conform to the divine decree by living to shape the future after the ratified image of the past. History is our guide, as much by showing errors to evade as examples to pursue. " It is suspicious of illusions in success, and, though there may be hope of ultimate triumph for what is true, if not by its own attraction, by the gradual exhaustion of error, it admits no corresponding promise for what is ethically right. It deems the canonisation of the historic past more perilous than ignorance or denial, because it would perpetuate the reign of sin and acknowledge the sovereignty of wrong."

It was above all in Germany that the lesson of the past was misread. In his study of Döllinger Acton wrote in 1890:

> To the objection that one who celebrates the victory of parliaments over monarchs, of democracy over aristocracy, of liberty over authority, declares, not the tenets of a party, but manifest destiny and the irrevocable decree, he would reply that a narrow induction is the bane of philosophy, that the ways of Providence are not inscribed on the

surface of things, that religion, socialism, militarism and revolution possibly reserve a store of cogent surprises for the economist, utilitarian, and Whig.

As we read Acton's manuscript notes we feel that he does more than follow the maxim he laid down—Whenever you perceive a truth, look out for the balancing truth—a maxim derived from Leibniz. He seems rather to be regarding truth as a gem with many facets, to be explored many times.

For Acton history includes the history of philosophical thought. Over the last four centuries, he notices, a new philosophical system is produced, on the average, once every twelve years. Philosophical systems constantly collapse; but the ruins are eternal.

Acton has been criticised for his insistence on the ethical criterion, and for insufficient appeal to economics. In his *Inaugural* he gave an example of what he meant by the former. " In the first fervour of the Crusades, the men who took the Cross, after receiving communion, heartily devoted the day to the extermination of Jews." As Acton observed, if we lower our standard in History, we cannot uphold it in Church or State. It is significant that it was in the fatherland of romantic history, which repudiates the ethical criterion, that the condemnation of the extermination of Jews in the twentieth century was least effective. Acton's use of economics was based on the view that it was the most significant addition made to historical studies in his generation. His peculiarity is that his use of economic history is integrated with the other aspects of history. He could not accept it as a self-sufficient theology.

Acton's writings have long been recognised as monographs which greatly advance the study of their subject. The whole consists of fragments of history regarded as the history of liberty—a beatific vision. His most interesting successor, Professor Toynbee, has found in Acton his inspiration. Whether a man finds a pattern in history depends upon himself. As Acton said, it is a function of character. For the same reason, it is also true that Acton was incapable of writing anything that was not great literature. The countless aphorisms which punctuate his pages are radiant with cosmic light: " In each soul, even of a slave or of a child, lay a treasure that outweighed the glories of empire or the possession of the created world."

" The nations aims at power, and the world at freedom."

" By the spirit of Christianity I mean that spirit which is aroused by the contemplation of the life and death of Christ."

" Columbus's conversation with the friar is the starting point of modern history. The past had ruled the world till then. What began that day was the reign of the future."

" Nothing is dated—all tending, somehow, to the world that is and that is to be."

" Ideas are the soul of history."

III

It is in the history of thought and learning that Acton makes his most interesting contribution to the understanding of the growth of the modern mind. He founds the modern movement on Bacon, Grotius and Descartes—induction, political science, philosophic certainty and clearness of thought. Science, conscience, revolution he founds on Cartesian clearness, continuity on Leibniz, who anticipated Hegel and Darwin. Locke is the classic of toleration. The Reformation made Catholicism historical, the French Revolution made it liberal. Nineteenth century historiography he derives from the postulates of Burke.

Acton, like Kant, employs two notations—the notation of historical causation, and the notation of moral science. Very obviously, these two notations are not confined to Acton. They even invade the law courts at the present day. It is only the accident of academic disciplines that, in general, historians do not study philosophy, and philosophers do not study history. It is Acton's special glory that he regarded the field of history as, in his own words, all that goes to weave the web of social life.

PATTERNS IN THE GOSPELS

By S. H. HOOKE

To the mind of the author of the 1st chapter of Genesis the divine act of creation consisted, not in bringing something into existence out of nothing, but imposing order upon chaos. The Spirit of God is seen imprinting archetypal patterns upon the primeval shapelessness, and from that beginning flows out the great stream of images by which all inspired thinking has been fed.

It is perhaps not without significance that in recent years there has been a revival of interest in the phenomenon of " pattern " in various fields of study. In the field of psychology the appearance of what was called Gestalt psychology, some ten years after the first world war, made a tremendous impact upon the whole behaviourist position. In the field of anthropology the functional patterns of primitive societies were investigated with illuminating results, and kinship patterns still engage the almost fanatical interest of many anthropologists. Even archaelogy has been affected and a very active and influential school of "patternists" has arisen in Scandinavia, specially occupied with patterns of divine kingship in the ancient Near East. Hence it is not altogether surprising to find the same trend emerging in the field of New Testament studies. Dr. Carrington, the Archbishop of Quebec, has recently published the first volume of an important work on *The Primitive Christian Calendar*, in which he discovers a well-defined liturgical pattern in the Gospel of St. Mark and suggests that the author of the Gospel of St. Matthew has arranged his material to fit the same pattern. Dr. Kilpatrick, in his recent book on St. Matthew's Gospel, has expounded his own view of the patterns there exhibited. But the most thorough-going application of " patternism " to New Testament studies is to be found in the two books by Dr. Austin Farrer entitled *A Rebirth of Images*, and, last year, *A Study in St. Mark*. The subject of the first book was the Apocalypse of St. John, and it was no new thing that patterns should be found there; the novelty of Dr. Farrer's approach lay in his demonstration that the book was the product of a prophetic mind of extraordinary range and power, working with a vast repertory of images, woven by the seer into an intricate complex of patterns governed by an essential unity of design. But Dr. Farrer's treatment of St. Mark's Gospel is something quite new in the history of gospel criticism, and it is, perhaps, not misleading to apply the epithet "revolutionary" to it. His study of the Gospel has led him to see its author, not as the unintelligent amanuensis of an apostle, nor as a compiler of the disjecta membra to which the work of the form-critics would reduce the early Church's tradition of the life of the Lord, but as "a living Christian mind, and a mind of great power," from whom we have received "an inspired and dramatic presentation of the meaning of Christ and of his saving acts". In describing the results of his study Dr. Farrer says, "We see then that the inquiry into the principle of whatever arrangement the evangelist does use could not be avoided. But once opened up, it has spread and developed alarmingly; there seems to be no end to the strength and subtlety of the evangelist's own pattern, and it bites deeper and deeper into the substance of his paragraphs the more we look at it."

Dr. Farrer insists that, whatever might have been the form in which the evangelist's materials came to him, the oral reminiscences of an apostle or other eye-witnesses, or the units into which the catechetical activities of the primitive Christian teachers and preachers had cast the acts and sayings of Christ, he has imposed upon his material, under the control of the Holy Spirit, a unity of design which we shall find if, as the author says, "we are willing to examine the pattern that is there, instead of looking for a preconceived type of pattern which is not there."

It would appear, from various reviews of Dr. Farrer's book, that many readers have been repelled by the extreme complexity of the patterns which he has discovered in his study of the Gospel, and he disarmingly admits that the attempt to grasp St. Mark's inspired thinking as a whole is a risky and almost presumptuous undertaking. Nevertheless his book is a challenge to "plunge into the deep and rapid waters of the Evangelist's mind, and swim with the current of his inspiration." The fundamental issue here is the reality and nature of inspiration. What was the nature of the Evangelist's inspiration? It is clear that an account of his activity which makes him a mere recorder of apostolic memories or a mechanical compiler of oral or written traditions about the Lord can hardly ascribe to him any degree of inspiration. The inspiration will have to be found either in the Spirit's stimulation of the Apostle's memory, or in the Spirit's control of the formulation of catechetical instruction, but not in the Evangelist. Nor can we logically stop here; what is true of St. Mark will, *mutatis mutandis,* be true also of St. Matthew and St. Luke; the best that can be said about them will be that they were conscientious " scissors and paste " historians. But once we admit the reality of the Spirit's presence in and control of the Evangelists, then we are dealing with something which is apt to make critical findings look foolish. Admitting then this reality, and surely as Christians, indwelt by the same Spirit, we cannot fail to do so, it is not a matter for dismay or surprise if we find that Spirit working in the mind of St. Mark and imposing his own patterns upon the material which came into the Evangelist's hands from various sources. At any rate that is what Dr. Farrer, swimming, as he would say, with the current of St. Mark's inspiration, has found and has set before us. It is no good dismissing it all with a contemptuous wave of the hand and saying, as one reviewer has done, this sort of thing will not get us anywhere. It must be taken very seriously, lest we be found quenching the Spirit and despising prophecy, and to take it seriously means to pay attention to all the questions it raises in our minds, to apply the tests of inner consistency and historical validity, and above all to be assured that it reveals Christ.

First of all let us take Dr. Farrer's own description of what he has found in St. Mark's Gospel: " It is a quite short recurrent cycle of topics. Christ's action, according to our evangelist, constantly expresses the essentials of the Gospel, and the essentials of the Gospel are always the same. Having expressed them once within quite a narrow compass of events, Christ re-expresses them with different emphasis and in different ways, and so on again until he reaches his passion and resurrection, in which he expresses these things perfectly once and for all. We are not going to show that the *history* of Christ circles round and round. The history goes steadily forward to the inevitable end. What circles round and recurs is a series of topics which the forward march of the history constantly re-expresses." And again: " He (St. Mark) begins, of course, from the traditions of Christ's mighty works; but under the breath of his inspiration, and in the building up of his Gospel, the facts fall into such a pattern that, like true works of God, they become expressive, and are no less words than deeds ".

In his Bampton Lectures, speaking of the nature of inspiration, Dr. Farrer has said: " If we want to know anything of the process, we must see how the minds of the sacred writers are moved as they write, in their passages of high inspiration. Through the secret act of God by which the Apostles were inspired there came upon us in imaged presentation the shape of the mystery of our redemption." The pattern which the breath of St. Mark's inspiration has impressed upon the tradition of the Lord's mighty acts is the pattern of redemption.

This is a high and holy business; nevertheless, it must be confessed that at the first encounter the reader is apt to be alarmed by the complicated rhythm of cycles and paracycles, the models, the prefigurative sense, and the numerical symbolism which emerge from Dr. Farrer's exposition; indeed, at one point the author disarmingly confesses his sympathy with such feelings when he says, " I am overcome once more by that confusion of face which falls upon me when I am forced to admit that I am going to add a further complication to my account of St. Mark's imaginative process."

Now, I hold no brief against the conception of pattern in St. Mark or elsewhere, since I have been described by a not unfriendly critic as " the arch-priest of patternism in England "; but I must confess that on the first reading I wondered if I was witnessing the incredible feats of the daring young man on the flying trapeze. But after reading the book again with great care I cannot help feeling that, although a number of questions remain in my mind, Dr. Farrer has put forward the most satisfying solution to the problem of St. Mark's principle of selection from the many acts of power which illuminated the course of the Lord's ministry. This is putting it at its lowest.. It may very well be that Dr. Farrer has discovered, as he claims, the *basic* pattern of St. Mark's Gospel, while he admits in the same context the possiblity of other patterns to be found there.

Dr. Farrer has anticipated, in the course of his exposition, several of the most important questions which his thesis raises. Among the other possibilities which, as I have already mentioned, he admits, he refers to the liturgical pattern which is the theme of Dr. Carrington's book *The Primitive Christian Calendar.* Of this he remarks: " Now I am not going to discuss this sort of order, but neither do I in any way exclude it. It may be genuinely Marcan, but it is not sufficient of itself to supply St. Mark with the design he requires. For it must be obvious that there are dozens of ways in which a Christian Gospel might be accommodated to the Jewish festal scheme." But in his review of the Archbishop's book in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Oct.-Dec. 1952, he strongly dissents from the view that St. Mark composed his Gospel as a weekly lectionary arranged for the Jewish calendar; a conclusion with which I should heartily agree. The early Church might have, and very probably had, arranged St. Mark's Gospel, as well as the other Gospels, as a lectionary, but St. Mark did not write it as a lectionary.

Dr. Farrer also deals with the problem of what St. Matthew and St. Luke have done with the inspired pattern of St. Mark. We can hardly deny inspiration to them, and if so we wonder whether they were inspired to break up that intricate pattern and adapt it to patterns which they too presumably had received under the inspiration of the same Spirit. His answer is that St. Mark had no monopoly of inspiration, " the others had their own visions of the wholeness of the Gospel, into which some of the features of St. Mark's planning could be, and were, fitted, but others could not possibly be."

A third question arises, also anticipated by the author, namely, the relation of the forward march of events in time, to the cyclic movement of the exposition. I am not sure whether this point is fully cleared up. It appears that out of a great number of acts of power the memory of which had been preserved and handed on orally, St. Mark selected thirteen acts of healing, the resurrection of Jesus making the fourteenth, and upon these imposed the cyclic pattern set forth in Dr. Farrer's study. In a passage already quoted we are told that St. Mark's pattern consists of a short recurrent cycle of topics. By the action contained in these topics Christ expresses and re-expresses the essentials of the Gospel, or in other words the pattern of redemption, until he expresses it finally and perfectly in his passion and resurrection. But in his chapter on The Historical Sense (*c.* VIII) Dr. Farrer tells us that we may usefully distinguish two sorts of pattern in St. Mark's history, a pattern of events and a pattern of exposition. He goes on to say that we have a good example of the latter type of pattern in the numerical patterning of the healing miracles, and adds that whatever historical reality corresponded to the expository pattern was either in Christ's mind or in his apostles'. Here I am in some doubt. Does this imply the possibility that Christ, seeing the whole pattern of redemption from the outset, designed that out of his many acts of healing thirteen should express in recurrent cycles that essential pattern? I should find this difficult to accept, and Dr. Farrer does not seem to mean this, for he says that the historical reality corresponding to the expository pattern was not present in Christ's mind in the form the pattern gives it. " Neither Christ nor St. Peter supposed that only thirteen persons had been healed, or that among all the healings performed, thirteen had been marked with an asterisk of peculiar memorability. What they believed was something about the significance of all the healings in general." The Gospels would seem to indicate that the apostles did not understand what was happening before their eyes, save in an imperfect way, until after the resurrection and the coming of the Spirit. If then we venture to ask whether behind or beneath the pattern of exposition and the pattern of events presented by the Evangelist we can reach to the mind of Christ and know something about what all the healings meant to him, we may be told that we are wretched spectators shivering on the bank of the deep and rapid waters of the Evangelist's mind, fearing to plunge in and swim with the current of his inspiration. I am sure I am not as strong a swimmer as Dr. Farrer, but I have plunged and tried to swim with the current; I have been thrilled and amazed, instructed and perplexed; I am still somewhat uncertain whether the current I have sought to entrust myself to is that of St. Mark's inspiration or Dr. Farrer's. I find myself at the end asking how far St. Mark's prefigurative writing of the history, how far his recurring cycles of healing acts, reveal Christ to me, for that I believe to be the purpose of all the Evangelists.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews we are presented with the picture of one who, though he were a son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; one who, in order that he might bring many sons unto glory, had to be made perfect through suffering;

one who in the days of his flesh offered up prayers with strong crying and tears to him that was able to save him from death. This, surely, is historical reality, and to look for this in the Gospels is not to impose upon them a pattern of our own creation.

I think, though I fear Dr. Farrer will cast a disapproving eye upon me, that by taking St. Mark and St. Matthew together, a pattern of historical reality emerges; the former giving the external pattern of events, while the latter supplements St. Mark by giving the internal pattern of the development of the mind of Christ as he moves forward, learning each step as he goes. It is this conviction, possibly erroneous, which makes it hard for me to accept the thesis of the division of St. Mark into a "little Gospel", composed of cc. I-VI, and its fulfilment contained in cc. VII-XVI. Dr. Farrer's contention is that chapters I-VI by themselves compose a carefully finished Gospel in miniature; the resurrection in Jairus's house prefigures the resurrection of Christ. The " little Gospel " can be read as a complete Gospel by the device, the word is Dr. Farrer's, of jumping from the literal to the prefigurative sense somewhere about the crisis described in iii, 1-7; " up to that point, we are simply reading about the Galilean ministry, but then we begin to read the Galilean ministry as a foreshadowing of events at Jerusalem." The author then goes on to show how the cycles of the " great Gospel ", beginning from the Transfiguration, express and fulfil the cycles of the " little Gospel ", beginning from the Baptism.

I am not quite clear whether we are dealing here with a pattern of exposition or a pattern of event; probably the latter, for in this connection Dr. Farrer tells us: " The pattern of event as St. Mark understands it may be put in one word, prefiguration. The present was prefigured in the past, the future is prefigured in the present. It is needless to give examples of prefiguration as St. Mark understands it, for we have been discussing nothing else for several chapters. Every cycle of his narrative prefigures the next, and the ' little Gospel ' prefigures the great Gospel. Christ's ministry prefigures the apostolic mission, his passion and resurrection prefigure the end of the world." Again, " The effect of writing history prefiguratively is, as it were, to spread and fuse the character of successive events; the earlier stratum is infected with the nature of the later by prefiguring it, and the later is infected with the nature of the earlier by fulfilling it. Once more, " The men of the New

Testament were untroubled by our difficulties, whether our difficulties are or are not of our own making. They saw the history behind them as of finite length, and the Gospel history could obtain unique importance in relation to previous history by being the retrospective epitome of its pith and substance. All that men had been or done had prefigured Christ, and all they had prefigured, Christ did and was. But in being and doing that, Christ also made the prospective epitome of all that men were still to be or do; he was the text, they were to be the manifold expositions of it."

I cannot help feeling a little like a Balaam in reverse; longing to bless, I am compelled to curse, I might almost say, apologetically. Here is so much that is true and fine, and yet one cannot refrain from asking whether these eddies of complicated patterning from which one emerges dazed and breathless are really the way in which the Holy Spirit intended to convey to us by his instrument the Evangelist the story of Christ's earthly life. While acknowledging, as I have already done, how much I have learnt from this book, I have to say that after reading it several times with great care, its dance of patterns rather conceals than reveals, at least for me, the figure of the " Author and Completer of the Faith ".

One word more. Dr. Farrer's brilliant defence of the view that St. Mark intended his Gospel to end at the 8th verse rests mainly on his division of the Gospel into the " little Gospel " and the " great Gospel ", whereby he makes the women's fear at the tomb echo the fear of the disciples at the apparition of Christ on the lake. If that division is not accepted as part of the Marcan pattern then the argument loses its force. Dr. Lightfoot's argument from the LXX usage in the matter of sentences ending in *gar*, an argument which Dr. Farrer adopts, is not convincing for two reasons: first the LXX writer is translating Hebrew, and the explanatory clause ἐταϱάχθησαν γάϱ , does not end anything, but simply intervenes between two Hebrew continuous narrative verbs with *waw* consecutive: "and Joseph said . . . but they could not answer for they were afraid . . . so Joseph said . . . "; secondly, and as a corollary of the first reason, no case, so far as I know, has been adduced of a book ending with *gar*. I fear Dr. Farrer will attribute less discrimination to me than to his delightful mice, but I remain unconvinced either by his poetry or by his patterns in this particular respect. Nevertheless, I am sure that he has made out a convincing case for the presence of patterns in the Gospel; and while he may very well say that I am like the blind man at Bethsaida who could only see men as trees walking, and tell me that I must take it all or leave it all, I shall continue to hope that I may take as much as I can swallow. Meanwhile, and before I have another go at the book, I will conclude by saying that I am profoundly grateful for it and hope that many will read it, and that, unlike the seer's little book, if it is bitter in the mouth, it may be sweet in the belly.

THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST

By E. L. MASCALL

I PROPOSE in this article to discuss the significance of the fact that the sacred gift which is received by the faithful in the Holy Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Christ. I have previously discussed[1] the significance for the Eucharistic Sacrifice of the fact that in the Sacrament the Body and Blood are exhibited in separation from each other; the Body as the host on the corporal, and the Blood in the chalice. I shall not repeat that discussion, but it may perhaps make for clarity if I summarise briefly the view which is there expounded. I do not believe that the Eucharist is constituted as a sacrifice by the separate consecration of the bread and wine as two separate objects, separated by an interval of space. Nor do I believe that it is constituted as a sacrifice by anything that is done to the consecrated elements in the course of the rite, such as, for example, the fraction of the consecrated host or its reception in communion. Such views would, so far as I can see, make every Eucharist a numerically different sacrifice from every other one, and all of them numerically different from the sacrifice which was offered by Christ in his earthly life. What I believe constitutes the Eucharist as a sacrifice is the fact that in the Eucharist Christ identifies the bread and wine respectively with his Body and his Blood, which latter were separated in his death on the Cross. The *separation* of the Body from the Blood took place on Calvary; there, and there only, did the death of Christ occur as an event in history. What takes place in the Eucharist is not a new separation of the Body from the Blood, not a new *immolation*, but the *identification*, by that unique mode of efficient causality whose name is sacramental signification, of the bread and wine with the Body and Blood. Thus every Eucharist is the *same* sacrifice as every other one, and of all of them are the same sacrifice as that which was offered by Christ in his earthly life.

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My present question is a different one from that outlined above. and my discussion of it will not presuppose the view which I have just stated about the Eucharistic Sacrifice, though it will be thoroughly compatible with it. I am now concerned not with the separation of the Body and the Blood but with their unity. And, just as the separation is peculiarly connected with the Sacrifice, so the unity is peculiarly connected with the Communion; for what we receive when we kneel at the altar is not the dead Christ but the living and ascended Saviour, whose Body and Blood shall never be separated again, since he lives for evermore in the unity of his glorified humanity.

It has sometimes been maintained that a distinction ought to be drawn between Christ himself on the one hand and his Body and Blood on the other. Such a distinction was suggested by the late Dr. E. S. Talbot at the Farnham Conference on Reservation in 1925.[2] But, as Dr. Quick and Dr. Goudge then pointed out, such a distinction is difficult to sustain;[3] in St. John's Gospel the phrases " He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood " and " He that eateth me " appear to be used indifferently. And indeed, in Hebrew idiom, which provides the background of the phraseology of the New Testament, " flesh and blood " or " body and blood " (for there is no difference between the words for " flesh " and " body " in Hebrew[4]) simply means human nature in its entirety. The Jews did not think of a man as the Greeks did, as an immortal soul temporarily condemned to inhabit an alien physical organism. Although, at any rate in later Judaism, they distinguished between the soul and the body and believed that the soul survived bodily death, they looked upon the man as consisting of body and soul together and placed their emphasis quite as much upon the body as upon the soul. Thus, when they thought of man's final condition, it was in terms of the resurrection of the body rather than of the immortality of the soul. It has been well remarked that, whereas the Greeks looked upon a man as an embodied soul, the Jews looked upon him as an ensouled body. For them, man was essentially a material creature, although one upon whom God had conferred a unique destiny which had set him over the rest of creation as God's vicegerent, and into whom God had breathed the breath of life. In consequence, for the Jews the term " flesh and blood " was practically synonymous with " human nature ". It denoted man in his totality, and not merely the lower physical part of him as contrasted with the spiritual immaterial soul. Thus, when at Caesarea Philippi our Lord said to Peter, with reference to Peter's acknowledgment of him as the Christ, " Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven", the meaning was simply "No human agency has revealed this "; the contrast is not between body and soul, but between the creature and the Creator. Again, when St. Paul writes to the Galatians " I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me, but I went into Arabia ", his meaning clearly is that he took counsel with no human beings, not even those who were of most eminence in the Church, but withdrew to commune with God.[5] The point has often been made, but I do not think its implications for Eucharistic theology have been fully appreciated. And indeed I wish to suggest that both Catholic and Protestant theology have been frequently vitiated by a false spirituality in regard to the Eucharistic gifts.

In the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, our Lord said " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day ". Here he is quite clearly not telling his disciples that they must enter into a spiritual relation with him by faith, that they, as spiritual creatures, must commune with him who is uncreated Spirit. What he is saying is that they, as living men of flesh and blood, must feed upon him who is a living man of flesh and blood. How they were to do this they would discover at the Last Supper, but the fact is plain. This is not soul communing with soul, it is men feeding upon a man. If this phrase sounds shocking, it is relevant to observe that our Lord's own words shocked his hearers; but he was not prepared to mitigate their force, even when many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him. In spite of this, theologians have shown a recurrent tendency, in their discussions of the Eucharist, to fall into a false spirituality, sometimes merely as regards their language but also sometimes as regards their thought. They have frequently separated man into soul and body, then assumed that it is only the soul that matters, and finally concluded that the Eucharist is solely concerned with the sanctification and salvation of the soul. And I shall reluctantly have to draw an example of this from the Book of Common Prayer.

"What", asks the Catechism, discussing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, "are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby?" And the answer is: "The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the Bread and Wine." The thought is perfectly clear, however extraordinary the consequences may be. I am made up of two parts, a body and a soul. Each of them needs to be fed. My body is a material thing and needs for its food material things, such as bread and wine. That is one half of the picture, and it makes perfectly good sense. But here is the other half. My soul is a spiritual thing and needs for its food spiritual things, such as—what? The Body and Blood of Christ? But the Body and Blood of Christ are not spiritual things at all. Clearly the parallel has broken down. The human soul of Christ is a spiritual thing, and so (if, *salva reverentia,* the word "thing" may be used in this connexion) is his divine Person; but the Catechism does not tell us that in the Lord's Supper we receive Christ's human soul or his divine Person. It tells us that we receive his body and blood; and these are just as material as are bread and wine. Obviously something has gone badly wrong with the thought, and it is something that is altogether independent of the view that is held about the nature of the Eucharistic presence. The difficulty is precisely the same whether we believe in transubstantiation, consubstantiation, receptionism or even virtualism. It arises out of the assumption that what the Eucharist imparts is merely spiritual sustenance for our souls, and this is an assumption that the words "body" and "blood" simply will not bear. However unintentionally, in this unhappily worded question and answer the Catechism has managed to suggest both an inadequate view of man and an inadequate view of the Eucharist. It has divided man into two parts, a body which needs merely natural nourishment and a soul which needs supernatural nourishment, thus removing the body from all direct contact with the supernatural realm. In consequence, since the Eucharistic food is clearly supernatural, the Catechism has had to restrict the operation of the Eucharist to the soul and, in doing so, to treat the Body and Blood of Christ as purely spiritual objects. The material is treated as purely natural, and the supernatural as purely spiritual; this is an assumption which is highly congenial to the modern world and which has had remarkable and devastating results in other spheres than that of Eucharistic theology. The Theological Committee of the Church Union commented on it in connection with the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1948. Referring to the sections of the Report which dealt with the Christian Doctrine of Man and with the Church and the Modern World, the Committee said:

"For the Catholic duality of the natural and supernatural they [i.e., the Lambeth fathers] tend to substitute a duality of the material and spiritual, or a duality of the earthly and the heavenly, and indeed they oscillate indecisively and uncomfortably between these last two. The doctrine that man's fulfilment consists in a supernaturalization of his nature by divine grace, a supernaturalization which includes in a coherent whole every stage and every component of man's activity, from his rebirth in the womb of the Church at baptism to his enjoyment of the beatific vision in the final resurrection, is nowhere either stated or apparently even assumed."[6]

When we get the material equated with the natural, and the supernatural equated with spiritual, two consequences follow. The first is that the material realm escapes altogether from the overarching control of religion, and the second is that religion becomes entirely concerned with the culture of the soul. What the Catechism should have told us, and no doubt meant to tell us, but certainly failed to tell us, is that, just as the whole man, in his unity of body and soul, is strengthened and refreshed by bread and wine for the achievement of his natural end as a citizen of this world, so the whole man, in his unity of body and soul, is strengthened and refreshed by the Body and Blood of Christ for the achievement of his supernatural end as a member of the Body of Christ. Had it said this, the Catechism could then have gone on to point out that, just as the bread and wine are the outward signs of the Body and Blood of Christ, which are really present beneath them, so the natural earthly life of the Christian is the outward sign of his supernatural heavenly life, a life which, while it will achieve its culmination in the beatific vision, is already operative here and now. Thus the fatal separation of religion from common affairs, which has so tragically dogged the footsteps of modern man, would have been repudiated.

There is indeed one formula in the Anglican Eucharistic rite which avoids this lamentable dichotomy. Anglicans have frequently pointed with pride to the words of administration, which pray that the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ would preserve the *body and soul* of the communicant to everlasting life, and they have contrasted it with the unsatisfactory form in the Roman secular rite, *Corpus D.N.J.C. custodiat animam tuam in vitam aeternam.*[7] (Incidentally, we may remark that the Dominican rite contains the much more satisfactory form *custodiat te.*) But behind the Anglican formula there lies a very strange history. The *Order of Communion* of 1548 distributed the host with the words "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body unto everlasting life", and the chalice with the words "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee preserve thy soul unto everlasting life". Here, too, we have a dichotomy, but it is quite a different dichotomy from that which, in 1661, was to appear in the Catechism. According to the Catechism, our bodies are strengthened by the bread and wine, and our souls by the Body and Blood. But according to the Order of Communion, our bodies are preserved by Christ's Body, and our souls by his Blood. The Prayer of Humble Access (which came into the Prayer Book from the Order of Communion) echoes the latter doctrine when it prays that "our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body and our souls washed through his most precious blood"; this is not a Reformation doctrine, but goes right back to St. Thomas[8] and earlier in the Middle Ages. It is certainly less open to objection than the wording of the Catechism, for it is free from the implication that the material is purely natural and the supernatural purely spiritual; in fact it does not mention man's natural end at all. But it makes a similar separation between the human body and the human soul, and it makes an even more remarkable contrast between the Body and the Blood of Christ. Christ's *Body* feeds our *bodies*—well and good. But Christ's *Blood* washes our *souls.* The Body of Christ is thus related to the material realm, but his Blood to the realm of spirit. This is a dichotomy which, on any showing, it must be impossible to maintain.

The highly realistic—we might almost say, materialistic—nature of the Eucharistic discourse in the sixth chapter of St. John was pointed out as long ago as 1940 by the late Sir Edwyn Hoskyns. "No room", he wrote, "is left for any 'spiritualizing' interpretation. The eating and drinking of the Flesh and Blood of the Son of man involve a real physical eating and drinking, although the Flesh and the Blood are altogether misconceived if they be thought of, as the Jews are determined to think of them, as the mere material of the human Body of Jesus, instead of being rigorously defined in terms of the significance wrought out and manifested in his sacrificial death." "The Eucharistic food and drink", he continued, "are physically bread and wine, spiritually the Flesh and Blood of the Son of man; together they constitute the true food and drink of the faithful: the true food and drink because they effect the sacred union of the Son of God with those who believe on him, and thus communicate eternal life and guarantee immortality."[9] Hoskyns had clearly seen the essential point, but even he capitulated, perhaps unconsciously, to the inaccurate terminology which had become almost universal. For, having said that there is no room left for any "spiritualizing" interpretation, he almost immediately asserted that the Eucharistic elements are "spiritually" the Flesh and Blood of the Son of man. I am not, of course, pleading for a crude "Capharnaite" view, for which Christ would be present in the Eucharist under the same mode and in the same condition as he was present on the roads and in the fields of Galilee. It is the ascended Christ, Christ as he is now, that we receive in Holy Communion, and we receive him under sacramental signs. But the best word for the mode of the Eucharistic presence does not seem to me to be "spiritual" but "supernatural" or, better still (since, as has been pointed out in my previous article,[10] it is a narrower term than "supernatural") "sacramental". It is the whole Christ, in his ascended glory, who is present in the Eucharist, and he is present as the food of the whole man. He is present there simply because, by his institution and promise, the bread and wine have become the effectual signs, the *sacramenta*, of his Body and Blood.

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[1] "The Eucharist and the Sacrifice of Christ", in *C.Q.R.*, Jan.-Mar. 1952.

[2] *Reservation*, p. 65.

[3] *ibid.*, pp. 68, 70.

[4] Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, p. 12.

[5] A note on certain New Testament linguistic usages may help to remove misunderstanding. (1) "Flesh" (*sarx*), just like "flesh and blood", often means simply human nature in its entirety: "The Word

became flesh and dwelt among us" (Jn. i, 14). But "flesh" is also taken as meaning human nature in its fallen sinful state, in contrast to "spirit". In this case "spirit" (*pneuma*) seems primarily or mainly to refer to the Spirit of God, or to the spirit of man as indwelt by the Spirit of God: "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, for these are contrary the one to the other" (Gal. v, 17). This double use can be paralleled in the case of the word "world" (*kosmos*), which sometimes simply means God's creation as such ("God so loved the world . . .", Jn. iii, 16) and sometimes means that creation in its fallen state, especially the human part of it ("Ye are not of the world . . .", Jn. xv, 19). (2) In I Cor. 2, St. Paul contrasts the "soulish" (*psychikos*, "psychic", AV and RV "natural") man with the "spiritual" (*pneumatikos*, "pneumatic") man. The "soulish" man is the man who is living simply on the level of animal life ("soul" = *psyche* = *anima*), in contrast with the "spiritual" man, whose human spirit is indwelt by the Spirit of God. "Soul" here thus plays practically the same role in contrast to "spirit" as is played by "flesh" in the former case; so far from "soul" being contrasted with "flesh", it is practically identical with it. (3) In I Thess. v, 23, St. Paul prays that "your spirit and soul and body may be preserved entire". Here he is adopting a current contemporary division of man into mind (*nous*), soul (*psyche*) and body (*soma*), and, since he is writing to Christians, substituting "spirit" for the more coldly intellectual term "mind". In none of these cases is there any suggestion that religion is concerned exclusively with one part of man, whether "soul" or "spirit", the other part or parts being outside the concern of religion. So far is spirit as such from being unconnected with the realm of flesh or body that St. Paul can describe the resurrection body as "a spiritual body": "It is sown a soulish body (*soma psychikon*), it is raised a spiritual body (*soma pneumatikon*)" (I Cor. xv, 44). It is only in this sense of "spiritual" that we can justify the use of such well-established phrases as "the spiritual life", "Christian spirituality" and the like. These must not be taken as implying the cultivation of one part of man, his "soul" or "spirit", to the exclusion of his "body" or "flesh", but as the raising of the *whole man* from the purely natural or animal or "soulish" level, to the supernatural or spiritual level; from the realm of the fall, to the realm of redemption; from servitude under sin and death, to the liberty of the sons of God. And it is only in this sense that we can say with Article XXVIII that "the Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner".

[6] *Lambeth* 1948 *Reviewed*, p. 4.

[7] This form appears to have come into use in the time of St. Gregory the Great (Cf. Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 200, *s.v.* "Communion").

[8] Cf. *Summa Theologica*, III, lxxiv, 1c.

[9] *The Fourth Gospel*, 2nd ed., p. 297.

[10] *Art. cit.*, p. 58.

St. Mark's Debt to St. Peter

By CECIL S. EMDEN

St. Mark's Gospel has qualities which might well entitle it to greater attention than the other Synoptic Gospels. The fact that it has not attained this status is puzzling, because its priority in date is generally conceded; and it is the only story of the beginnings of Christianity which draws much of its material from an eye-witness; and one of first-rate significance. Professor C. H. Turner hardly exaggerated when he described it as " the most important book ever written." The first and third Gospels have, of course, greater attractiveness in presentation. But that can hardly outweigh the intense interest of the original story in the second Gospel.

Lack of adequate appreciation of St. Mark's gospel is doubtless partly due to the cautious attitude of some of our most eminent experts, especially in regard to the extent of St. Peter's influence on St. Mark. On the other hand, it is possible that the seemingly assiduous scepticism of some German exponents of Form Criticism has begun to induce a reaction towards the conservative view.

A word or two first about some of our own experts. Bishop Rawlinson, while wholeheartedly admitting the vivid realism of St. Mark's descriptions, says[1]: " It is possible to exaggerate the extent of the direct dependence of Mark upon Peter, and I believe that this has been done. I believe that the gift of dramatic visualization, which enables St. Mark to call up with such vividness the setting and circumstances of a story, and to set a picture before us, is the Evangelist's own." Professor R. H. Lightfoot is also cautious. He refers to the second-century tradition that St. Mark's Gospel is based on information from St. Peter, and adds[2]: " I hope this may well be so, as regards certain sections and details of this Gospel." He concludes that " the way in which most of the stories are told does not suggest that they give us, almost at first hand, an eye-witness's account of the doings of the Lord."

The opinions of Canon Streeter in regard to St. Mark's Gospel are more than cautious. They are almost disparaging. This is odd, because he properly gained an international reputation as a learned and discerning authority on the Gospels. In discussing the comparative merits of the Synoptic Gospels, he says[3]: " Who does not feel that St. Mark . . . is the one we could best spare? Without him we should miss the exacter details of a scene or two . . ., but it is not from him that we get the portrait of the Master which has been the inspiration of Christendom. A mechanical snapshot is, for the realist, a more reliable and correct copy of the original than a portrait by Rembrandt, but it cannot give the same impression of the personality behind." It is a question whether one wants facts or interpretations most. Many people prefer facts, even though they are only available in simple, unliterary form.

But Streeter's simile is not a genuine one. He implies that the authors of the first and third Gospels are Rembrandts, while St. Mark is the mere camera-man. Neither the author of the first, or of the third Gospel was able to portray our Lord from the life, and interpret Him, as Rembrandt did his subjects. Moreover, nearly all the experts on the Synoptic Gospels agree that most of the narrative portions of the first and third Gospels are derived (with some omissions and modifications) from St. Mark. To characterize St. Mark's gospel as a " bare transcript of fragmentary sayings and isolated acts," as Streeter does, signifies a failure to appreciate the only book that includes original recollections of our Lord's ministry, though admittedly it is in some respects defective in style and in exercise of imagination.

There are, of course, several English experts who consider that a large proportion of St. Mark's narrative matter is derived fairly directly from the preaching or the oral recollections of St. Peter. Professor C. H. Turner was among the most eminent of these.

In the same class is Dr. Vincent Taylor, whose highly important commentary has just appeared. It is studiously judicial, particularly so in regard to the extent of Petrine influence. Dr. Taylor's conclusions are heartening to those who have been depressed by the unduly cautious comments of some English scholars and by the ruthless scepticism of some contemporary German scholars. Dr. Taylor, while adopting many of the analytical methods of the Form Critics, never indulges in scepticism. He wisely remarks that the extent of Petrine influence can be exaggerated and that some of that influence is far from being direct. But he often admits Petrine influence when other contemporary scholars would exclude it. He seems to attribute some degree of that influence to about two-thirds of the narrative portions of the Gospel. That is a proportion which many conservative scholars would think reasonable.

Vivid details are a valuable means of detecting Petrine influence; and Dr. Taylor never misses these indications. It may be, however, that he has treated them too exclusively as a qualification for eye-witness testimony. He has, nevertheless, a keen recognition of the artless touches in the narrative which occasionally provide cogent evidence of Petrine influence.

St. Mark makes little direct attempt to portray characters, to insert comments based on psychological insight, or to depict the background of the story. He does not, for instance, enlarge on our Lord's penetrating way of looking at people (though he records it); nor does he describe His personal magnetism. As Lagrange puts it, St. Mark, forbearing from commentary on the characters, has concentrated on putting them in such sharp relief that they act as their own interpreters. And Lagrange furthermore points out what is obvious as soon as we are told it, that St. Mark is throughout dominated by his facts, that he tells his story as seen through the eyes of an informant.[4]

Almost any fresh analysis of the eye-witness passages can be suggestive. We may begin by noticing some details in the description of the actions and gestures of our Lord. St. Mark alone[5] portrays a habit of our Lord by which he looked round about on people in His company before doing or saying something significant. He looked round about on the Pharisees (who would have denounced His healing on the sabbath day) before he cured the man with the withered hand. He looked round about on those whom He was teaching before saying: "Behold, my mother and my brethren," meaning that His work must come first. He looked round about on the crowd to ensure that the woman who had touched his garments should admit what she had done and why she had done it. He looked round about on His disciples before He said to them: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God!"[6] This is as good an instance as any of the way in which one or two particulars with points of similarity can intensify the pictures of our Lord's ministry.

On three occasions, St. Mark describes a characteristic gesture of our Lord in healing, in which he took the patient by the hand and raised him or her.[7] St. Matthew and St. Luke in their versions modify the description, which probably had for them the significance of the wonder-worker. It is notable that St. Peter himself used this gesture in healing.[8]

Several other gestures of our Lord are mentioned, knowledge of which could only have become available to St. Mark through someone who had been present. For instance, "And Jesus stood still, and said, call ye him [Bartimaeus]."[9] Some of these incidents, besides assisting the reader to visualize a scene, help to the understanding of our Lord's character or mind. The picture of the last approach to Jerusalem, when there was a growing realization of the likelihood of a tragic outcome, discloses our Lord's unflinching determination to meet His fate. "And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them," as we may imagine, striding ahead purposefully, with His own thoughts. Or, again, there are instances of His compassion which could only have been described by an eye-witness, such as His handling of children, and the rich man whom our Lord "looking upon him loved him."[10]

Some of our Lord's conversation as recorded by St. Mark has a consistency of intonation and manner which is only likely to have been caught by an onlooker. Our Lord had a way of taking up a word in a remark made to Him, and repeating it in His reply. A leper says: "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean"; and our Lord replies, "I will; be thou clean." Again, those round Him say, "Behold thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee"; and He replies, "Who is my mother and my brethren?" The father of the boy with the dumb spirit says, "but if thou canst do anything, have compassion on us . . . "; and He replies, "If thou canst! . . . " The rich man says, "Good master, what shall I do . . . ?" He replies, "Why callest thou me good?"[11] This mannerism is allied to our Lord's practice of answering questions by questions of His own.

Occasionally, St. Mark reports phrases of our Lord suggestive of His note of authority, a note which would only be caught by a companion. For instance, the command, "Hear me all of you and understand!" Also, "Fear not, only believe," and "Stand forth!" Authentic intonations are also caught in the conversation about the leaven of the Pharisees. Our Lord says "do ye not yet perceive, neither understand? . . . Do ye not yet understand?"[12]

The tone of remarks by disciples is also convincingly represented. The disciples ask in turn at the Last Supper, "Surely it is not I?"[13] Again, there is St. Peter's mixture of embarrassment and mental confusion at his first denial, "I do not know—I do not understand what thou sayest."[14]

The flavour of antagonism in the comments of the crowd listening to our Lord's teaching would have been difficult to reproduce by one who had not been present. For instance, "What is this? a new teaching! with authority he commandeth even the unclean spirits and they obey him."[15] It would take a more skilful author than St. Mark to invent these querulous murmurs.

St. Mark provides a clearer picture than do the other Synoptists of the eager, excitable crowd that is constantly attendant on our Lord.[16] He also distinguishes between the crowd and the disciples, which St. Matthew and St. Luke generally fail to do; and he avoids describing the disciples as "following" our Lord. Moreover, he conveys to the reader a sense of the movement of the crowd. The seething multitude often endangers our Lord's freedom of action by its pressure on Him, so that He has to get into a boat, or so that He and His disciples have not room to eat. The narration of these incidents of the embarrassing impetuosity of the crowd helps to impress on the reader the atmosphere of tension aroused by His presence. The multitude is on several occasions described as running to come near Him.[17] On one occasion those desiring to be healed pressed upon Him, or, more literally, pressed violently upon Him, or rushed upon Him. On another occasion, they thronged Him, or, more literally, pressed closely in on Him from all sides. In the town, they are vividly described outside the house in which our Lord lodged, as so many in number "that there was no room for them, no, not even about the door."[18]

There are a number of details of the gestures and behaviour of sick persons who are healed which imply first-hand knowledge.[19]

St. Mark, moreover, is the only evangelist to describe gradual healings.[20]

Perhaps the passages which most convincingly indicate information from St. Peter are those including intimate details connected with boats and fishing. These details are sometimes barely relevant, details in fact that would cling to the mind of a man looking back in recollection, who was not well versed in distinguishing between the important and the unimportant. There are, for instance, the mention of the local method of throwing a net in a circle; the mention of a little boat to wait on our Lord in case the crowd press Him to the water's edge; our Lord being taken in the boat "even as he was"; the additional boats for which no explanation is available; our Lord asleep on a cushion in the stern; the boat moored to the shore; and the insufficient single loaf in the boat.[21]

Other details are within St. Peter's personal knowledge, such as his following hard after our Lord,[22] when He had departed into a desert place to pray.

No one will deny that information about the thoughts of the disciples could only come from one of them; and there is much in the Gospel and elsewhere to suggest that St. Peter was the most likely informant. Some of the disclosures of the disciples' thoughts are connected with their bewilderment at our Lord's teaching or predictions,[23] or when they were amazed at His teaching,[24] or afraid to inquire about the meaning of His words[25], or frightened at His exercise of miraculous power.[26]

In addition, there are some occasions when St. Peter's own thoughts are disclosed. This is, indeed, cogent evidence of the identity of St. Mark's informant. At the transfiguration, he made an inappropriate proposal, "for he wist not what to answer" [or, rather, what remark to make]; in the Garden "they [Peter, James and John] wist not what to answer him"; "And Peter calling to remembrance, saith unto him, Rabbi, behold the fig tree . . . "; "And when he [Peter] thought thereon, he wept."[27]

It is mostly on the eye-witness passages that reliance must be placed for supporting the case for Petrine influence on St. Mark. But there are other means. St. Mark's Gospel often portrays the human side of the character of our Lord. This points to an early source of information. Similarly, St. Mark, in contrast with the other Synoptists, had no compunction in disclosing the frailties of the disciples, and in describing them as pusillanimous and stupid; and, in particular, he was ready and even anxious to reveal the occasions when St. Peter was rebuked or proved himself disloyal. As Lagrange remarks, St. Mark does not spare St. Peter, because he is the echo of St. Peter who refuses to spare himself.[28] " It is the personal remorse of an impulsive nature that shines through the many statements of the Gospel which describe the lack of faith, the ambition, the sluggish intelligence, the disgraceful flight of the disciples."[29]

Professor Turner, among others, has emphasized that, while St. Mark always treats the disciples as companions of our Lord, the other two Synoptists treat them rather as subordinates and followers, and often describe them as merged with the crowd. He has shown that, while St. Mark often comprises both our Lord and His disciples under the word " they ", the other two Synoptists tend to substitute " he "; " the natural and obvious explanation is that we have before us the experience of a disciple and apostle who tells the story from the point of view of an eye-witness and companion, who puts himself in the same group as the Master . . . "[30]

Professor Turner was struck by St. Mark's frequent description of our Lord and His disciples as " they ". This raised in his mind the question why St. Mark should adopt this mode, which only seems appropriate to a memoir by one of our Lord's companions. He consequently developed a very plausible theory[31] that some passages of the Gospels are almost literal transcriptions of St. Peter's oral narrative, subject to the substitution by the author of " they ", " them ", or " their " for St. Peter's original " we " " us ", or " our ". He found that the rearrangement of the wording into its original form could eliminate clumsy constructions, or remove ambiguities.[32]

In the first chapter of the Gospel, our Lord called Simon and Andrew, and then James and John. After a few verses about His teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum, the healing of St. Peter's mother-in-law is described. St. Mark prefaces this description by saying[33] " they [i.e. our Lord, Simon, Andrew, James and John—see i, 16-21] came into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John." This wording is clumsy, and hardly makes sense. It is likely that the sentences originally had " we " for its subject, and was more intelligible in some such form as this: " We came into our [Simon's and Andrew's] house, James and John accompanying us."[34]

About a dozen instances can be found where ambiguity can be removed by similar conversion of the third into the first person. In the feeding of the five thousand,[35] we read: " And he commanded them [i.e. the disciples] that all should sit down by companies." The word " them " can easily and mistakenly be interpreted as meaning the five thousand. If the sentence is amended to read " he commanded us ", the sense is plain.

There is a similar ambiguity in the story of the feeding of the four thousand.[36] " And they [we] had a few small fishes: and having blessed them, he commanded to set these also before them. And they did eat, and were filled: and they [we][37] took up, of broken pieces that remained over, seven baskets."[38]

In reading the Gospel, especially in the Greek, it is easy to notice the large number of vigorous expressions that are used. How far these are derived from St. Peter it is impossible to know. But so definite a feature, which is consonant with St. Peter's temperament, is worth a passing reference. St. Mark sometimes uses very strong words to describe the amazement of the disciples and of the crowd at our Lord's teaching and healing; also to describe His strict injunctions against publicity. The narrative regarding the healings themselves has many vigorous expressions. Our Lord's feelings are also forcibly described. He was " moved with indignation " when children were discouraged. When He is said in the R.V. to be sore troubled in the Garden, it would be closer to the Greek to say that He was distracted. St. Peter's own experiences are also described in strong terms; and this is, of course, specially significant for the present argument. Just prior to being dismissed by the words " Get thee behind me, Satan ", St. Peter " took " our Lord, and " began to rebuke him." Instead of " took ", " seized hold of " would be a better translation. When the disciples were caught in a storm on the Sea of Galilee, they were " distressed with rowing ", or, more accurately, " agonized ". Again, in the Garden, the eyes of Peter, James and John were " heavy ", or, better, " heavily weighted down."[39] The other Synopsis, when adopting St. Mark's narratives, often tone down the latter's emphatic phrases.

While it is obvious that much of St. Mark's style is his own, such as his tricks of iteration, his liking for parenthesis, and his redundant negatives, some features of the Gospel's style suggest the eye-witness. There is, for example, the very frequent use of the imperfect tense,[40] which, unfortunately, is only now and then reflected in the R.V. St. Mark uses the imperfect tense in several ways.

First, the inceptive imperfect, for instance: "he entered the synagogue and taught [began to teach]".[41] This use has little significance for the present purpose.

Secondly, the realistic use of the imperfect tense, for instance: "And they watched [were watching] him", or, literally, "were watching him closely"; "because they said [were saying] He hath an unclean spirit"; "and the waves beat [were beating] into the boat"; "and a great multitude followed [was following] him"; "and he would have passed them by"; "and would have no man know it"; "And they reasoned [were reasoning] one with another"; "And he sat down over against the treasury, and beheld [was watching] how the multitude cast money into the treasury; and many that were rich cast [were casting] in much."[42] These examples are suggestive of the vivid impression of one who had been an onlooker.

This realistic use of the imperfect tense is closely related to the frequentative use of the tense; something done as a matter of practice, or continuously, or persistently, for instance: "they brought [used to bring] unto him all that were sick"; "and all the multitude resorted [used to resort] unto him"; "And with many such parables spake he [he used to speak] the word unto them . . . but privately to his own disciples he expounded [used to expound] all things"; "and he looked [kept looking] round about to see her that had done this thing"; "and he gave [proceeded to give] to the disciples to set before them"; "And he took them in his arms and blessed [proceeded to bless] them [one by one]"; "but he cried out [went on crying out] the more a great deal"; "And every evening he went forth [used to go forth] out of the city"; "But they cried out [went on crying out] exceedingly, Crucify him."[43] This frequentative use could hardly be adopted with honesty by any writer who did not base his account on first-hand evidence.

Occasionally, St. Mark uses the Greek "was" or "were" with the separate participle (the periphrastic use of the imperfect tense); and then, as a rule, the translators have been forced to reproduce the notion of action in progress. Two examples of realistic translation in the R.V. will show how such treatment makes for vividness, and at the same time suggests information from an eye-witness. At the transfiguration, Elijah appeared with Moses, "and they were talking with Jesus"—much more real than "and they talked with Jesus." Secondly: "And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them."[44] This is more dramatic than if the Greek aorist tense is used.[45]

The object of this article is to marshal some of the evidence of Petrine influence so as to help to encourage a reaction to over-cautious and over-suspicious scholarship. There is no space to discuss whether some of the eye-witness material might come from other sources than St. Peter. But this is not really a controversial question. It is the extent of the evidence rather than the identity of the source of the evidence that is the subject of argument. If, as may be hoped, a large degree of Petrine influence will soon be widely admitted, then surely the Gospel will finally attain to the high rank which is its due.

[1] A. E. J. Rawlinson, *St. Mark* (7th ed. 1949), p. xxxiii.

[2] *The Gospel Message of St. Mark*, p. 28.

[3] *The Four Gospels* (1926, 2nd ed.), pp. 194-5.

[4] M.-J. Lagrange, *Saint Marc* (1947 edition), pp. lxxv, lxxxi.

[5] St. Luke copies one instance.

[6] iii, 4-5, iii, 34, v, 32, x, 23; cf. also xi, 11.

[7] i, 30, v, 41, ix, 27.

[8] Acts iii, 7, ix, 41.

[9] x, 49.

[10] x, 32, ix, 36, x, 16, x, 21.

[11] i, 40-41, iii, 32-33, ix, 22-23, x, 17-18.

[12] vii, 14, v, 36, iii, 3, viii, 17-21.

[13] A more correct translation than that in the R.V. (xiv, 19).

[14] This rendering by Swete conveys the hesitancy of the Greek words, which is lost in the R.V.

[15] i, 27; also ii, 7, vi, 2-3.

[16] eg. iv, 36, viii, 34, ix, 14, x, 46.

[17] vi, 33, vi, 55, ix, 15, ix, 25.

[18] iii, 10, v, 24, 31, ii, 2.

[19] e.g. i, 31, vii, 30, v, 43.

[20] viii, 22-26, ix, 25-26.

[21] i, 16, iii, 9, iv, 36, vi, 53, viii, 14.

[22] i, 36. The Greek word means more than mere following after, as in R.V.

[23] vi, 52, ix, 10, ix, 32; cf. ix, 34.

[24] x, 24, 26, 32.

[25] ix, 32.

[26] iv, 41.

[27] ix, 6, xiv, 40, xi, 21, xiv, 72.

[28] As above, p. 389.

[29] W. C. Allen, *Gospel according to St. Mark,* p. 22.

[30] *Journal of Theological Studies,* vol. 26 (1925).

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Prof. Turner made this discovery himself, and was not aware till later that A. Klostermann had evolved the same theory in 1867, and had been supported by F. Godet in 1870. See also T. Zahn: *Introduction to New Testament* (translated 1909), vol. 2, p. 496.

[33] i, 29.

[34] Similar clarifications can be made in i, 16, i, 36, and iii, 13-19.

[35] vi, 39.

[36] viii, 7-9.

[37] See viii, 19.

[38] Other instances of a similar kind are to be found in i, 21-22, iii, 13-19, viii, 13-14, viii, 22, ix, 14-15, x, 32, xi, 4-7. Sometimes " we" is found to be more respectful than " they". Sometimes " we " or "us" may be substituted for " his disciples ".

[39] x, 14, xiv, 33, viii, 33, vi, 48, xiv, 40.

[40] Much more frequently than in Mt. and Lk.

[41] i, 21.

[42] iii, 2, iii, 30, iv, 37, vi, 48, v, 24, vii, 24, viii, 16, xii, 41.

[43] i, 32, ii, 13, iv, 33-34, v, 32, viii, 6, x, 16, x, 48, xi, 19, xv, 14.

[44] ix, 9, x, 32.

[45] St. Mark's use of the historic present is less suggestive of first-hand evidence than his use of the imperfect.

A NEGLECTED VICTORIAN DIVINE

Vaughan of Llandaff

By R. R. WILLIAMS

No life of C. J. Vaughan—Headmaster of Harrow, Vicar of Doncaster, Master of the Temple and Dean of Llandaff in the last century—has appeared, doubtless owing to his special request in his will that this should be the case. As a result he has not been accorded his true place as one of the outstanding figures of the Church of England in the 19th century, although his influence on other clergy, trained by him, and widely known as "Vaughan's Doves" has not been forgotten. In this paper we shall try to see his life and work as a whole. It is, we believe, important in itself, and important in various ways as a sign of things to come. It also has the attraction of taking us back into an ampler world, of crowded churches, leisured scholarship, a settled social hierarchy, expanding trade, and prolonged peace and plenty. To some of these things it is difficult not to look back with a certain measure of nostalgia.

Vaughan was born in 1816 and died in 1897, his life thus spanning the important years of the nineteenth century. He was the son of a vicar in Leicester city, his mother being the daughter of a Leicester banker and manufacturer. At the age of thirteen he was sent to Rugby where he came under the influence of the great Dr. Arnold. He was more or less contemporary with Clough and with Stanley (Arnold's biographer) and he subsequently married Stanley's sister. He went up to Trinity, Cambridge, and in 1838 became Senior Classic and Chancellor's Medallist, being bracketed for these honours with Lord Lyttleton.

In 1839 he became Fellow of Trinity, and like Archbishop Lord Lang and the recent Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, found his way to theology only after a flirtation with the study of the law. He was ordained in 1841, and for a short time held the family living of St. Martin, Leicester. In 1844 came the first big step, the Headmastership of Harrow. The school was in low water—there were only sixty pupils when Vaughan took over. In two years there were over two hundred. Among the colleagues he gathered round him were B. F. Westcott and F. W. Farrar, among his distinguished pupils, Montagu Butler, and Sir George Trevelyan. " As teacher ", writes the author of the article on Vaughan in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, " his main object was to impart to his pupils that strict accuracy of thought and expression, and to the more capable of them that keen sense of style and the subtle delicacies of language, in which his own delight peculiarly lay ". " As preacher ", continues his brief biographer, " he already showed the instructive grasp of his hearers' needs and the power of appealing directly to their hearts, which eventually made him one of the weightiest preachers of his generation ". He held Harrow till 1859, when he resigned. Contrary to what is commonly thought, he was not ignored as a potential holder of high office in the Church, for Palmerston then offered him the See of Rochester. After accepting it, he wrote next day withdrawing his acceptance, after what is believed to have been a big struggle with ambition, which he felt to be a grave temptation. In the following year he accepted the important, but strenuous charge of the parish church of Doncaster. The great neo-Gothic church which one sees from the railway had just been completed—it is one of Sir Gilbert Scott's finest creations—the old church of Doncaster having been destroyed by fire a few years previously. The population was growing rapidly, owing to the development of Doncaster as a big railway centre. It would be interesting to know more of the way in which the erudite scholar impressed his personality on the hard-headed people of his South Yorkshire charge. A few points can be elicited from his written remains. In the first place it was here that he delivered many of those courses of sermons subsequently published as " Lectures " on various books of the Bible. Their content can better be discussed when we come to consider Vaughan's preaching as a whole, but we may note in passing that in the years 1861-2 Vaughan devoted long Sunday evening courses to detailed expositions of the Revelation, and during the latter year was lecturing for some months on Sunday mornings on the Epistle to the Philippians. Both books were later published, and still find readers to-day. He clearly set himself and his hearers a high standard. In one of the sermons on Philippians (this chanced to be given on a Sunday evening) we can see him grappling with pastoral problems. The text was Phil. i, v. 6, " He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ ". Touching on the encouraging and discouraging aspects of his work, he notes that the evening services are well attended, but that the morning services are but poorly supported. Discussing the reasons for this—a problem which still confronts all clergymen in industrial parishes—he suggests that the late Saturday evening market may be a potent factor. It is quaint to hear him say that if this is so, the date of the market should be changed. " I well know ", he says, " that those who here rule in such matters will not grudge the inconvenience which might arise from even changing the day of the market. It is of more consequence that the Sunday should be secured than that the Saturday should be busy. It is of more consequence that all should worship God than that the most convenient day should be found for buying and selling. The one is a matter of the soul and of eternity; the other is of the earth, earthly ". (Lectures on the Philippians, Macmillan, 1862, p. 27). He pleads for a more active co-operation of the congregation in the worship, quoting examples of other Northern churches where a musical service has not prevented this. He asks for a voluntary augmentation of the choir. He calls for volunteers to conduct evening classes (for " further education ") for both men and boys. He asks the women, in particular, to stand by at baptisms to take the place of missing sponsors, revealing here a weakness in church practice which still troubles the parochial clergy. He urges the need for more active church work among the older girls, asking that district visitors and Sunday School teachers should assist in the task of supervision, which was clearly beyond the capability of many parents. It was at Doncaster that he began to take potential ordinands for practical training before ordination, but more of that anon.

In 1869 he became Master of the Temple, and thus secured a regular Sunday congregation to which his gifts must have seemed more naturally fitted. He greatly appreciated this regular opportunity of preaching to some of the finest intellects in the country, and when in 1879 he became Dean of Llandaff he decided to continue in his position as Master of the Temple. At Llandaff his long connection with academic circles and his native sense of scholarship made him an invaluable leader in the plans for the founding of the University College of Cardiff, of which he became President in 1894. He died, at the age of 81, in 1897. He had published at least thirty-four works, mostly volumes of sermons and biblical expositions.

VAUGHAN AS A PREACHER

Throughout his ministry Vaughan obviously attached the very greatest importance to his preaching, and the fact that so many of his sermons found ready publication and sale shows that he made his mark on his generation through this medium.

As we have briefly mentioned, a great part of his pulpit work was devoted to biblical exposition of a quite exact character. In the Introduction to the Doncaster sermons on the Apocalypse, he writes, " There are those who can rest with satisfaction in a more vague and popular exposition of the language of Holy Scripture. The attempt to render intelligible to an unlearned congregation the accuracies of the sacred language, and to draw a meaning not always visible on the surface from shades and terms and niceties of expression, will appear doubtless to such persons a waste of labour, if not a distraction of the attention from matters of vital and saving import. Others have learned a different and (as I venture to think) a truer lesson from the experience of interest awakened, and thought quickened, and reverence heightened, and humility deepened, even in the minds of common men, by that closer and more discriminating investigation of the utterances of Divine Truth which has been attempted, earnestly though most imperfectly in the work now offered to the Church " (Lectures on the Revelation of St. John the Divine, Introduction, pp. v-vi).

I propose to illustrate Vaughan's preaching methods largely from his very many University sermons, mainly of course delivered before his own University of Cambridge. By 1888, the date of the publication of his composite volume of University sermons, Vaughan had been Select Preacher at Cambridge on some forty occasions. They had been occasions which had meant a great deal in his emotional life, and to which he had given of his very best. In the preface to this volume he writes: " My sojourns on these occasions in the houses of honoured friends in various Colleges of the University are among my pleasantest and most sacred memories. . . . My love for Cambridge, the passion of my boyhood, constant through youth and manhood, is still strong in old age. May the same affection, brightened and purified, animate now a younger generation, inspiring a worthier and more fruitful, though it can scarcely be a more loyal or loving service" (University Sermons, 1888, pp. vii-viiii). To gain a picture of these occasions it is necessary to rid the mind of the University sermon as it is at Cambridge to-day, attended by the Theological Faculty, and a handful of theologically-minded graduates and undergraduates. Certain figures quoted in his sermons show that the average attendance was one thousand, that galleries as well as floor-space were crowded, and that the retiring collection, frequently given on the occasions of Vaughan's sermons to the poor parishes of Barnwell and Chesterton sometimes reached £100. The sermons themselves, far from being discourses on subtle points of scholarship addressed to the learned world, were addressed to the individual student hearer, with great force, persuasiveness and directness. The texts are for the most part short and pithy, containing their own challenge, e.g. "What think ye of Christ", "What shall I do, Lord", "Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before", "Ye are bought with a price: be not ye the servants of men". With a touch of Platonic idealism (not nearly so pronounced as in the work of his contemporary, F. D. Maurice) Vaughan would quickly escape from the immediate context of his chosen text, and bring out the universal and permanent significance of the spiritual truth contained in it. Thus the texts mentioned above led to discourses respectively dealing with the grounds for belief in the Incarnation, the choice of a profession, the place of oblivion and ambition in the religious life, the necessity of independence as a corollary of redemption.

The characteristic feature of the sermons is *moral earnestness.* This characteristic probably goes back to the influence of Arnold. Vaughan preaches from a profound conviction of the authority of the Bible, and the seriousness of that responsibility with which every man must hear its message. Usually each sermon ends with a peroration couched in brief, pithy sentences in the second person. Let me give a few examples.

In the sermon on *Suspense* (based on St. Luke xii, 29, Neither be ye of doubtful mind), Vaughan has been showing the difference between a suspense of judgment which springs from laziness and indolence, and one which is temporary, and may be the first step to true faith. He moves to his conclusion.

" I probably address some to-day, who, if the language employed has not entirely failed of impression, are conscious that they, they themselves, are of doubtful mind, as the text impresses it—are in a state of fluctuation and suspense—as to the word and work, the person and authority of our Lord and Saviour.

" To such I would say, first of all, never allow yourself to acquiesce in this state. If it is yours, admit it: but never rest in it; and let me add, as a hint not without its use, never take credit for it. Never allow yourself to be thought well of for a candour of which the two largest ingredients may be indolence and cowardice. Yes, I repeat the word, cowardice: fear of consequences; fear of that to which decision of doubts might possibly summon you in the way either of opinion or of conduct. . . .

" And next I would say, Face your difficulties. Be not timid towards them. . . . Bring your mind to account. Take the measure of your difficulties. As you examine them, some will disappear. Register the rest. Put them by. Three months hence, when you look at them again, they will be fewer. . . . Force them to a reckoning. See how large they are or how small. Make them produce their witnesses. And then listen to counter-evidence. If there are some objections to belief, are there none to unbelief? In particular, I would urge you to a decision with reference to the great question of all. Minor matters can wait. . . . But the great question of all waits not, or waits with infinite risk. Who and what is Christ? "

One of the most moving sermons is one which he preached late in life, on one of his last visits to Cambridge. It is on the text " I have been young, and now I am old " (Ps. xxxvii, 25). Its subject is " some lessons of age ". It contains a striking passage on the eternal distinction between good and evil. After showing the various efforts, philosophical and otherwise, that have been made to reduce the gap between right and wrong, Vaughan says, " Against all this the experience of the three score years and ten enters its stern and solid protests. Six millenniums of history bear witness to the futility of the endeavour to remove the landmark between vice and virtue. Explain it as you may, there is around us and above us a mighty something which makes for righteousness. Theories of indifference, fashions of immorality, alliances of might against right, have upon them what St. Paul calls the ‘ evident token of perdition ’. ‘ Though they toss themselves, yet can they not pass over ’, that boundary of the ‘ perpetual decree ’ which fences virtue. The gulf between right and wrong is still fixed. We must recognise it or perish ”.

One fairly common feature in the sermons is the challenge to live daily life in full view of the precarious hold we have on our lives, and of the certainty of their eventual termination by death. His passages on this subject, while painted with vivid imagery, just avoid the morbidity and sentimentality of some Victorian preachers. Let me quote one typical passage on this subject. “ Day by day let us carry our thoughts onward into the remote future, and forecast the one question and the one answer which will alone interest us then. When all of life is gathered up for us within the curtains of a death-bed, the one only question of moment will be, ‘ In whom have I believed? ’ and the one only answer of peace will be, ‘ Thanks be to God, who giveth me the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ ’. Gifts of mind and body, stores of knowledge and wisdom, powers once exercised for self-aggrandisement or even for the good of man, stirring incidents of political life, or sweet comforts of domestic love, all will then have passed back for us, to the earth from which they were taken. One thing, one only, will survive the wreck of all: a soul redeemed and ransomed by the blood of Christ, a soul indwelt and quickened by the Eternal Spirit. God in His mercy grant us this: and then come ease or pain, come gladness or sorrow, come success or disappointment, come life or death, all shall be well: for ‘ we are Christ’s and Christ is God’s ’ ”.

With such plain and earnest words Vaughan exhorted his generation for more than half a century. They are inspired by a deep understanding of human life, and a firm conviction of the truths of the Christian religion, not always heard in the modern preacher. In particular, they invariably present the hearer with a moral and spiritual challenge, which he is not allowed to escape, as far as the words of another can force him to a responsible decision.

VAUGHAN AS A BIBLICAL SCHOLAR

Vaughan was of the same generation of biblical scholars as

Westcott, Lightfoot and Hort. It would be foolish to suggest that his permanent contributions to New Testament study are comparable with theirs. He has not the philosophical sweep of Westcott, the historical learning of Lightfoot, the precise yet far-seeing theological perception of Hort. Yet his work is worthy of remembrance, and in some ways it foreshadows modern tendencies in theological inquiry even more vividly than does the work of his greater contemporaries.

Leaving out the semi-popular, mainly homiletic expositions of Philippians and Revelation, we may concentrate on his two serious Greek commentaries, those on Romans and Hebrews. Romans appeared just at the end of his time at Harrow, and was dedicated to past and present members of the Sixth Form there. It was based on what was to become his special method—the rejection of all other commentaries, and the concentration on the Greek text, with the aid of nothing but lexicon and concordance. Eighteen years had gone to the Commentary on Romans. He gives his views on the nature of Hellenistic Biblical Greek, in words which anticipate the findings of later scholars. " The idiom of St. Paul ", he says, " may differ in some important respects from that of the Attic writers, and yet not be on that account loose or accidental. Hellenistic Greek if in aspect a corruption, is in another rather an over-refinement of the classical original. Its departures from the purer model are not all provincialisms or vulgarisms. It has laws of its own, and those laws can in some measure be traced and should be studied. And with reference to language generally, it is surely the right of every author to have his words regarded as intentional and not casual, if they will bear an intelligible sense in their legitimate construction. One of my principal endeavours has been to trace through the New Testament the uses of the more remarkable words and phrases which occur in the Epistle, arranging them, where the case required it, under their various modifications of sense, so as to render, if it might be so, some service to the study of other parts of Scripture. In no instance have I allowed myself to travel, except by actual necessity, from the Scriptural into the Classical field ". (The Epistle to the Romans, Macmillan 1859, Introduction, pp. viii-ix). Those who have followed the absorbtion of " Biblical Greek " into the *Κοινή* and its re-emergence as a separate medium in modern times will note Vaughan's words with interest. The stress on the lexicographical aspect of the study will seem to many an anticipation of Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, or of Canon Richardson's English compilation on the same lines. *Romans* is interesting too as the occasion of the first publication of any part of the Westcott-Hort text of the New Testament.

Hebrews did not follow till 1890. By this time, as Dr. Vaughan himself points out, four ex-Fellows of Trinity and Masters of Harrow (including Vaughan himself) had written commentaries on this Epistle. Probably Westcott's great Commentary has made it difficult for Vaughan's lesser work ever to become well-known. In the Commentary on Hebrews, Vaughan followed the same method as he had adopted in Romans, except that he could not resist some use of the Commentary by Delitzsch. In the main it is linguistic in character: every word and phrase is traced throughout its biblical use. Great stress is laid on the use of words in the Septuagint, another anticipation of modern methods of exegesis. The careful student can still learn much from Vaughan's Commentary, though at times, in spite of himself, he attaches too much importance to the classical idiom, and does not allow sufficiently for Hellenistic uses (as, e.g. at Heb. xi, 2, where he insists on translating ἐν as " in ", and not by the word " by " or " with ", as would be common to-day). In the *Preface* to Hebrews, Vaughan defends his type of Commentary. " Verbal criticism, verbal illustration, verbal examination of any kind is pronounced to have had its day. The time is now come ", he writes, " we are told, for something larger, something bolder, more philosophical, at all events more startling. . . . Anyone it is said, can write out a column of his Bruder or his Trommius ". Vaughan shows that he has attempted more than this, in weighing carefully which among the many ancient parallels may be real and not illusory. He stresses his desire always to interpret Scripture by Scripture. Whatever we may think of this, it is in line with the modern tendency in exegesis.

VAUGHAN AS AN ECCLESIASTIC

In Bell's *Life of Randall Davidson,* Vaughan is described as a Broad Churchman. This is a very rough description indeed: in fact it is really erroneous. It doubtless arose because Vaughan was a man of no party. In a famous Cambridge sermon on " Exaggeration and Excitement ", Vaughan says plainly, " Suffer me to speak here as I am—a man of no party—a man believing that no party in the Church either wholly lacks, or exclusively possesses, 'the truth as it is in Jesus'". That much is true, and doubtless lies behind Bell's statement. But Vaughan had his own clear point of view and this emerges in his many writings. If a phrase be sought it would probably have to be "scholarly evangelical". He speaks strongly against what he regarded as an exaggerated sacramentalism, and equally strongly against the emotional revivalism of popular preachers, with their accompaniment of sentimental music. He feared a growing divorce between clergy and laity. At Cambridge, speaking on this subject, he said, "There are tokens real and unmistakable, in this England, of a terrible schism. Not a schism—I care not (I had almost said) for that—between . . . church and dissent. . . . The schism of which I speak is a schism between the church and her pastors—between the ministers and the ministered unto—between the clergy and the laity of England. . . . Exaggeration is the bane: truth, truth is the antidote. If once there should arise among the ministers of our national church a practical, however unconscious severance from the bonds of sober judgment and of common sense; if once they should begin to assume to themselves an independence of those unwritten but most real laws, of moderation and naturalness and good taste, which are just as much Christ's as any revelation which He brought with Him afterwards out of heaven; there is an end of his ministry thenceforth in its blessed, its beneficent influence within and without also the confines of our communion" (Univ. Sermons, p. 281).

On another, I think later occasion, he is more precise as to the exact nature of the schism he feared. Speaking to an Annual Conference of the Theological Society of King's College, London, he said, "The divorce to be apprehended is not between the clergy and the laity as such, but between the manly, masculine workers and thinkers on the one side, and the professed exponents of revealed truth and Church doctrine on the other. There is a tendency . . . to discountenance common sense and disparage popular judgment, to speak of it in a tone of suspicion and antagonism, as though it were the obvious rival or the natural enemy of a something which is the peculiar property of ecclesiastics, not as Christians, but as the clergy. It is taken for granted that we, the Clergy, have a craft or a mystery of occult knowledge, with which the profane 'Public' cannot intermeddle save at a distance and by guess. The idea grows and fructifies, till at last there arises a whole dictionary of new terms and technical phrases . . . which unhappily becomes to a generation of our younger brethren the regular key and grammar to what is practically a novel language to the theology of our Anglican Church". (*Rest Awhile,* Macmillan, 1880, pp. 168-9).

Such passages may point to a link with the Broad Church Movement, for the rights of the laity have always weighed strongly with its exponents, but there is no doubt that in the main principles of his work Vaughan's characteristics were those of the Evangelical Movement, even if his was an Evangelicalism strongly tinctured with the astringent influences of sound learning. Among these characteristics might be mentioned (1) his strong appeal to the individual will in all his preaching (2) his tremendous emphasis on the Bible, and his strenuous efforts to make even its details clearly understood by the laity (3) his emphasis on the gospel of redemption and free forgiveness, secured and guaranteed by the Atonement of Christ (4) his *comparative* silence on the sacramental and corporate aspect of the Christian message (5) his *penchant* for texts chosen from St. Paul's Epistles rather than from the Gospels.

Consonant with this is his admitted suspicion of the rapidly increasing *organisation* of the church's life in Convocation and Synods of all kinds. He looked back, with approval, on a day when the parson's time was divided between his parish and his study. Here he was fighting a losing battle, for the Church could not face a new age without new methods of organisation, but his witness and his example make it clear that the gain was not achieved without a corresponding loss.

VAUGHAN AS A TRAINER OF ORDINANDS

We come at last to the most well-known of Vaughan's activities, his training of ordinands at Doncaster and the Temple.

This goes back to a University Sermon preached at Cambridge on Trinity Sunday, 1860, soon after his taking over the parish of Doncaster. He devoted this sermon—as still many do to-day—to a stirring appeal for men to offer themselves to the Ministry. The sermon gives a fine picture of the work of an ordained minister—still well worth reading—and goes on to emphasise that theological training as such should be mainly carried on in the broad and stimulating atmosphere of a University. But, he said, theology has its art as well as its science, and it was here that he made a suggestion which was to have far-reaching consequences. " Where is the experienced Pastor ", he said, " who would not gladly take under his general direction from time to time, three or four candidates for Holy Orders? Great joy would it carry to the heart of one parochial clergyman—for him I can answer—to receive applications of such a nature; to find that there were men of blameless character, of steady purpose, of open mind and of true devotion, who were willing to take up their abode in his parish, before Ordination, to see what he could show them, and to render to him such services, in his schools and amongst his poor, as church order may permit and mutual convenience arrange. Then, and not till then, would he feel that his Parish was efficiently worked, and he would cherish the hope that what was thus given to him would be repaid in some measure by opportunities of widening experience and growing in the knowledge alike of man and of God " (Univ. Sermons, p. 35).

Few paragraphs can ever have had such far-reaching results. Applications began to come in, and by the time he died over four hundred clergymen had been through his hands. At Doncaster he could deal with them fully himself. At the Temple it was not so easy, but he allotted them to neighbouring clergy for practical work, and continued to supervise their spiritual and theological development. Among his most faithful " doves " as they came to be called was Randall Davidson, later Archbishop of Canterbury.

In a paper read to the Church Congress at Swansea in 1879 Vaughan described his scheme in some detail. Once more he emphasised with all his force the value, and in most cases the necessity, of a University education. By now the Theological College had fully come into the picture, and Vaughan does not disparage its contribution. But he still thinks it worthwhile to describe his own scheme. It is confined, he says, to graduates, and to graduates well able to look after themselves in matters of discipline and devotion to study. These make their own arrangements for board and lodging in his parish. The Vicar assigns their districts for visiting and various opportunities to develop their powers in different Church tasks. He " reads with them daily in the Greek Testament ", and the quality of these readings may be seen from those recorded in *Rest Awhile,* a volume of addresses given to a reunion of his " doves " in 1879. They may well have been prototypes of a type of theological teaching—the spiritual exposition of the Greek Testament—which has played a big part in the curriculum particularly of Evangelical theological colleges. The close personal bond between Vaughan and his "doves" can be seen in the affectionate tone of the addresses in *Rest Awhile,* as well as in the correspondence between Vaughan and Randall Davidson quoted in Bell's *Life.* Probably of all Vaughan's work, this was the most lasting. The growth of theological colleges in all parts of the country has made the need for work of this type less necessary, but Vaughan may be said to have filled a gap then very much in evidence, and to have filled it with particular distinction.

ESTIMATE OF HIS LIFE-WORK

Is it possible to sum up Vaughan's work and influence in a few lines? Probably not, for much of its value must lie in the imponderables of personal influence on the lives and characters of his hearers. But a few things can be said. During fifty-six years he was a faithful and fervent preacher of the Gospel by which he himself lived, and the influence of his sermons, particularly at Cambridge and at the Temple must have been immense. As a scholar, Vaughan was outclassed by the great Cambridge trio, Westcott, Lightfoot and Hort, but his work is a good example of patient study entirely subordinated to the pastoral and didactic work of the Ministry. Much of it can still be read with profit, but its principal value was the quality which it lent to Vaughan's own preaching, and to his training work with the " doves ". He took little active part in the administrative developments of Anglican life during his long career, and to this extent his influence on the history of the Church was limited. As a trainer of ordinands, Vaughan not only enriched the Ministry of the Church by sending out four hundred young clergy largely animated by his own ideals: he also broke new ground, and did in his own way what the Church has had to find other ways of doing. His greatest contribution, however, was his own life, utterly dedicated, exemplary in devotion, in freedom from self-seeking and in earnestness. His scholarship was an ornament to the nineteenth century ministry, and a challenging example to their successors in the twentieth. His life was long, and in some respects uneventful. One reader at least cannot read the University Sermons unmoved, and it may be surmised that for many years yet to come he will hold his place as a " preacher's preacher ", and an example of a quiet and studious Ministry which the twentieth century has made all but impossible to achieve to-day.

A Note on the History of the Three-Hour Devotion

By G. M. BOSWORTH

1.

THERE are three facts which suggest that the Christian Church's liturgical year could have originated in the cult of the holy Places of Palestine and specially of Jerusalem.

1. The early Christians were Jews, and the Jews had a liturgical year which by feast and fast kept before the faithful God's manifestation to his people in nature and history.

2. All orientals—not least the Jews at the time of Christ—were accustomed to value highly sites of events nationally or religiously important, and to visit them for public and private prayer, in penitence and thanksgiving. Even before the Dispersion Jerusalem had been preeminently the centre of such pilgrimage. It was always one of the troubles of Roman officials that the Jews were such persistent pilgrims.

3. The cardinal moments in Christ's life were inseparable from certain places—notably at or near Jerusalem—many of them impregnated with sacred memories.

2.

Historical evidence is not lacking to confirm this suggestion.

1. The Emperor Hadrian, while indifferent to Christianity, was, on the whole, noted for his tolerance. Yet when he rebuilt Jerusalem in A.D. 135 he covered the sacred sites of Calvary and the Sepulchre with twenty feet of marble. There he erected statues of Venus and Jupiter, and established at Bethlehem a grove of Adonis. This looks like deterrent action designed not merely to efface the sites—but to make them unusable in any Christian way. We know the Romans disliked large concourses—specially of Jews—because they were apt to breed trouble. Cabrol is probably right when he

says that Hadrian would not have acted in this way " s'il n'avait voulu détouner de ces lieux saints un courant bien etabli de pélèrinage ".

2. There is further indication that such " a current of pilgrimage " was, indeed, " well-established " before the end of the second century. Visits to the scenes of the Gospel story were then common (J.T.S. Vol: 1 pp. 551-552: The Early Episcopal Lists: Jerusalem: by C. H. Turner). Soon after A.D. 200 "the Places" was already a technical term in the language of pilgrimage—applying generally to the Holy Land. Eusebius, describing a visit of Alexander, about A.D. 217, " for prayer and investigation of the Places ", conveys this impression.

3. A lady named, or pseudo-named, Etheria, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem about A.D. 534. The book she wrote to show what she found there was discovered in Arezzo in 1887. In this book we find without doubt the connexion of the liturgical year and the cult of the sacred Places—to which has been added a new cult—that of a relic, the Holy Cross, believed to have been discovered by the Empress Helena early in the fourth century.

Here are the passages relating to Maundy Thursday and Good Friday—quoted from the excellent edition of " The Pilgrimage of Etheria " (by McClure and Feltoe: S.P.C.K.):

" And when the sixth hour has come, they go before the Cross, whether it be in rain or in heat, the place being open to the air, as it were, a court of great size and of some beauty between the Cross and the *Anastasis;* here all the people assemble in such great numbers that there is no thoroughfare. The chair is placed for the bishop before the Cross, and from the sixth to the ninth hour nothing else is done, but the reading of lessons, which are read thus: first from the psalms wherever the Passion is spoken of, then from the Apostle, either from the epistles of the Apostles or from their Acts, wherever they have spoken of the Lord's Passion; then the passages from the Gospels, where He suffered, are read. Then the readings from the prophets where they foretold that the Lord should suffer, then from the Gospels where He mentions His Passion. Thus from the sixth to the ninth hours the lessons are so read and the hymns said, that it may be shown to all the people that whatsoever the prophets foretold of the Lord's Passion is proved from the Gospel and from the writings of the Apostles to have been fulfilled. And so through all those three hours the people are taught that nothing was done which had not been foretold, and that nothing was foretold which was not wholly fulfilled. Prayers also suitable to the day are interspersed throughout. The emotion shown and the mourning by all the people at every lesson and prayer is wonderful; for there is none, either great or small, who, on that day during those three hours, do not lament more than can be conceived, that the Lord had suffered those things for us.

" Afterwards, at the beginning of the ninth hour, there is read that passage from the Gospel according to John where He gave up the ghost. This read, prayer and the dismissal follow."

3.

We need not discuss what it was the Empress Helena actually found. Certainly it was believed the Holy Cross had been recovered and certainly Constantine built a church to displace the naked Venus and the pagan altars under which Hadrian had buried Calvary and the Sepulchre, and certainly Constantine restored the holy Places. The belief that the Holy Cross had been recovered led to the Veneration of the Cross, and the restoration of the old sites of pilgrimage revived the forms of worship in which generations of pilgrims had learned to clothe their piety—an enthusiasm never quenched by Hadrian's drastic measures. The Gospel had spread from Jerusalem to the world beyond, and it was natural that those who received the Gospel should come back to the country of its origin for prayer, penitence, and thanksgiving. There were those like Gregory of Nyssa who found " Bethlehem, Calvary, Olivet and the Sepulchre to be contained in the heart of him who loves God", and needed no renewed outward stimulus to keep alive the flame of love. But there were many more whose spiritual life was neither enchained nor coarsened by the outward aids of pilgrimage, but rather enriched and liberated. We have already seen how this impulse was at work before the end of the second century. It had survived the attempt of Hadrian to stifle it, and the liturgical worship which Etheria found together with the Veneration of the Cross had been matured and preserved on the lips and in the hearts of that stream of pilgrims which had never ceased to flow, though the sites of their pilgrimage had been desecrated.

The Christian year grew then out of this devotion to the holy

Places; and the rites and ceremonies of Good Friday as we now know them sprang from that method of worship—first, the exact observance of the Three Hours with the Bible in Psalm and Prophecy and Narrative forming the background to the meditations of the congregation under the presiding Bishop, and silence playing such a great and proper part: and second the Veneration of the Cross. Later was added the Mass of the Presanctified. The Veneration and the Mass continued in East and West—but only in the Hours of the Greek Orthodox Church for Good Friday was the emphasis on the Three Hours fully preserved.

Jerusalem became a continuous battleground in the next few centuries. The Crusades came with enthusiasm and petered out in the occupation of the Holy Land by the Mohammedans. Pilgrimage was a perilous affair and the observance of Good Friday on the actual site became impossible. Time may reveal the subsequent maintenance and development of this Devotion in Europe and elsewhere in the Orthodox Church. As it is, we have to go as far away as Peru, in the seventeenth century, for the next trace of something really similar.

In 1687 a certain Jesuit priest, Father Alonso Mesia, much loved and of renowned piety, issued a small book called "The Devotion of the Three Hours Agony." It was a fruit of his way of observing the central part of Good Friday very much as the Church did at Jerusalem in the days of Etheria. The meditations in that little manual (translated by Fr. H. Thurston, S.J., and published by Sands in 1899, now out of print, but in the British Museum) are of the simplest. At Jerusalem, as we know, there were no comments by the Bishop or his assistants, the people made their own meditations on the basis of the psalms, hymns and readings. And this principle of congregational thoughtfulness was not upset by the very short and simple leadings which Father Mesia and his imitators gave to their people. It so happened that the revival in Peru was accompanied, and perhaps partly occasioned, by a series of disastrous earthquakes. It is not unnatural, then, to find that Father Mesia presents the Cross as the assurance of mercy to those whose reluctant penitence has been somewhat accelerated by the terror of overpowering circumstance. In the Ignatian method the desired mood was fostered by the outward and visible—the Church was darkened and there was no going or coming. Great stress was laid on the exactness of the hour—the Devotion must start precisely at noon, and end at three o'clock

Bellarmine (1542-1621), another eminent Jesuit, described the Devotion as " a Compendium of all that Christ did and suffered," and wrote a book " De Septem Verbis." The practice of the Devotion spread through western Europe—specially in Spain and Italy. The great composer Haydn's cantata " The Seven Last Words " (1801) first appeared as " seven sonatas, with a prelude, and an earthquake at the end." It was written for the Chapter at Cadiz, and the seven interludes were played after the Bishop had given his meditations on the Word from the Cross declaimed by bass recitative. The Devotion had been used in England in Jesuit churches since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It first appears in the English Church during the decade 1860-1870. Father Machonachie (he is believed to be the pioneer) conducted such a devotion at St. Alban's, Holborn from 2-5 p.m. to avoid clashing with the liturgical services. There was a record of such a service at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in 1869, and at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1878. Since then the Devotion has been generally accepted. Its popularity has wethered the vagaries of ecclesiastical fashion—for it has proved able to bring people of all kinds into living communion with that " reality wholly unique and wholly comprehensive—Jesus crucified."

As the genius of the Devotion is meditative and contemplative, we must hope that it will never be used as an occasion for long discourses or commentaries on current affairs. It is an occasion, as Father Bull of Cowley used to say, " for losing ourselves in wondering at Him.' Much silence is needed, and a resolute refusal to preach the Devotion at the congregation. Rather let the conductor meditate in their midst; and, as a reverent guide, himself enthralled, draw attention to some hidden excellence, or pause to direct the people's gaze through the great windows opening up on the wide spaces of the love of God.

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Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1583—1656

By GEOFFREY SODEN

ESCAPIST ESSAYS, 1634-35 [aetat 51-52]
being Chapter XX of the forthcoming *Life* to be published by S.P.C.K.

Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester from 1625, *is known to-day for his* Fall of Man, 1616, *in which he appeared as the protagonist of the Ancients in their perennial battle against the Moderns. His importance for the history of thought has become increasingly recognised of late. But his chief title to fame is that he was the only bishop of an English See since the Reformation who is generally reputed to have died in the Roman obedience. This, however, as the author has tried to show, is a superficial view. The real fascination of the quest for Goodman lies in the fact that such a man should have reached such a position. For Goodman believed himself to be a Catholic bishop, and he accepted wholeheartedly the implication of the title page of the Book of Common Prayer that the whole is greater than the part, and it was to the whole Church that he gave his allegiance. Goodman's offence was that he was not a High Churchman of the school of Laud. All his clashes with authority can be traced to the same cause. His sermon at Court, his trouble over his chancellor, his loss of Hereford, his appearance before the High Commission, his repeated attempts to resign his see, his ceremonial, his contacts with Rome, his loss of the Windsor canonry and his refusal to assent to the Canons of* 1640—*all are attributable to the fact that since* 1559 *no man whose views approximated so nearly to the Catholic mean, had succeeded in reaching the bench. But beliefs that were normal and moderate, if the general consent of Christendom be the yardstick, in a nation of sectaries who were preparing already to*

> *". . . prove their doctrine orthodox*
> *By apostolic blows and knocks,"*

were bound to bring their possessor to grief.

GOODMAN now had nothing to hope and perhaps not a great deal to fear from the Laudian régime. He had nothing to hope, for there was no likelihood of his translation to a more congenial sphere, while Charles was king, and Laud sate at Lambeth. It was about this time that he " shewed his discontentment ' to his intimate, Edmund Atwood, and Atwood discovered it to his wife, and eventually to Windebanke. He had little to fear, for the situation at court was shaping as favourably for his hopes as for Laud's, and there seemed to be no reason why he should dissemble an enthusiasm for reunion with Rome that Charles, and even Laud, seemed to share.

That the life of the court was profoundly alien to the country as a whole, and that the entire brittle structure was destined to collapse at the first onset of the Philistines, was hidden for the most part, from those who moved in that exotic and " conditioned " atmosphere. On the surface it was a Catholic and a cosmopolitan world: and if any who entered it from outside ventured to air their protestant and insular prejudices, they were soon made to feel that they had committed a solecism. But the *bravura* and the *panache*, spilled over from the baroque cornucopia, could deceive only such superficial observers as Panzani, who never succeeded in penetrating beneath the surface of the English scene. In that veneer, for those who had eyes to see, were reflected, yet as in a glass darkly, the differences that divided the country.

In the last resort the Anglo-Catholics were, with a few exceptions, Englishmen first, and Catholics second. When Laud was offered a cardinal's hat on August the 4th 1633, and the offer was repeated on Augsut the 17th, he replied—" somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is." That welling-up of nationalist sentiment made individual secession, if not corporate reunion, unthinkable for the majority. It was among that tiny cosmopolitan minority, mainly Spanish in its sympathies, that the secessions occurred. One of them, " littell prittie Tobie Mathew " had made his submission in the last reign, to the consternation of his father, the archbishop of York. Buckingham's mother, and his brothers, Lords Purbeck and Anglesey, had followed him, and his niece, the beautiful Olivia, the wife of Goodman's friend Endymion Porter, was prepared to compass sea and land to make one proselyte: she did succeed in gaining her father, Lord Boteler, her sister Lady Newport, and her kinswoman Lady Hamilton.

The King's attitude is illustrated in the story of the heavy-jowled lord treasurer, Weston. He shared his good looks and his financial acumen with Cranfield, his predecessor, but the resemblance ended there, for he was as pusillanimous and self-seeking, as Cranfield was courageous and disinterested. He had postponed his conversion till he lay dying, in 1635. When the King visited him, and was handed the white staff, he is said to have replied, "Get but well, and the Catholic religion need not hinder you to keep this staff as an able minister." On another occasion, " One of the King's preachers having vehemently declaimed against schism, his majesty being present: the king was afterwards heard to say, that he would willingly have parted with one of his hands, that a schism had not happen'd. When a courtier warned him to talk softly, the king replied immediately, ' I say it again .' " Panzani and others might be pardoned if they misinterpreted such incidents.

The erudite and sophisticated Cottington, with whom Goodman had had dealings over the business of Hereford, had already been reconciled to Rome once and again, and he died a Papalist. To Laud, Weston was "the Lady Mora" and Cottington "the Lady Mora's waiting maid." Windebanke, the other member of the trio, whose friendship with Laud had begun at St. John's, owed his promotion partly to his interest with the archbishop. His defection must have been a bitter disappointment to Laud. But Windebanke, though he adhered to that Spanish junto in the Council, through which Charles conducted his foreign policy, clung to his Anglicanism long after he had been driven into exile by the Long Parliament, and he became a Pontifician only on his death-bed. He differed from Weston and Cottington in his genuine zeal for reunion, and in his distrust of the Jesuits, whom he classed with the Puritans, as the main obstacle to his hopes.

That the court was the centre of a Catholicism which, if that were possible, was the more suspect for its rather precious and esoteric quality, was the decisive fact to the country at large. That the Papalists were themselves divided by the disedifying dispute between the Jesuits and the seculars over the oath of allegiance and the resignation of Bishop Smith as vicar-apostolic: and that the Laudians were widely sundered from both: would have seemed distinctions without a difference to the majority of Englishmen. Charles's and Laud's position was understood then as little as it is to-day. It was because the King was assured of his own Catholicism as a member of the English Church, that he could not but tolerate the same religion in its papal form, and that there was no religious barrier between himself and his wife after the first years of the reign. If Charles was able in 1646 to win the reluctant admiration of the Presbyterian divine, Alexander Henderson, not only for his evident sanctity, but also for his theological learning, it may be assumed that he was able, even ten years earlier, to give a reason for the faith that was in him. It was not merely the *décor* of Anglicanism, as it was expressed in the music and ceremonial of the chapel royal, with its appeal to the King's aesthetic sense; but its sacramentalism, and its apostolic hierarchy, which he preferred to die rather than compromise, that disposed Charles to insist on the Catholicism that he shared with Rome: just as the Anglo-Catholic of to-day, if he be logical, is equally at home whenever he attends Mass, whether at Canterbury, Rome, or Constantinople. Naturally Charles hoped for corporate reunion: and for that very reason deprecated individual conversions, even when, to instance in the young Duchess of Buckingham, they were only reversions.

Goodman had contacts with Papalism in both of the forms which, at that time, it would have been an anachronism to label Cisalpine and Ultramontane. Richard Ireland his old headmaster, was still living, and so was Goodman's cousin John, whom Ireland had received, now a "noted priest." His dealings with the Duchess of Buckingham, the Porters, Cottington and Windebanke, have been mentioned. But the decisive influence on him was that of Christopher Davenport. To readers of J. H. Shorthouse's skilfully constructed *pastiche,* a gallimaufry concocted of many ingredients, he is known as the Jesuit father Sancta Clara, whose powers of fascination were exercised to such effect on the malleable John Inglesant.

The real man possessed all the charm of the Sancta Clara of fiction, but he was the very antithesis of the Jesuits in his attitude to corporate reunion. He was a Franciscan Recollect, and had become one of the Queen's chaplains, probably after 1631. The Capuchins had replaced the banished Oratorians at court in 1629, mainly owing to the influence of Weston. Père Joseph, Richelieu's "Grey Eminence," who corresponded regularly with Weston, was an influential member of this extraordinary order, which the King had already encountered in Spain. Their chapel at Somerset house was a magnet to waverers, and many conversions were reported. But the Capuchins flew at higher game. Their emissaries ranged from one end of Christendom to the other, and their diplomacy was ubiquitous. When Sir Robert Douglas was accredited to Urban VIII, under the seal of Scotland, in 1633, the possibility of Charles's conversion already had been canvassed by the Capuchins. There were encouraging portents . Theodore Price's reputed conversion on his death-bed in 1631, may have been due to pique at being baulked in his endeavours to compass a bishopric. But the King himself was reported to Rome as having refuted calumnies about indulgences, and defended the Inquisition. Even Laud was thought to be well-disposed.

The mission of Gregorio Panzani, who arrived in London on December the 15th, 1634, was the fruit of Sir Robert Douglas's embassy. But several important events preceded it. One was the publication of Franciscus à Sancta Clara's *Deus, Natura, Gratia . . . Accessit paraphrastica expositio reliquorum Articulorum Confessionis Anglicae.* It was a treatise concerning justification, to which was appended a commentary on the 39 *Articles,* attempting to reconcile them with the decrees of the Council of Trent. Nineteen articles, with parts of five others were found to be orthodox: nine, with two parts of others were susceptible of a favourable interpretation: only six articles, with three parts of others were found to present difficulties that defied even Sancta Clara's exegesis.

The book made an immediate sensation, nor did its repercussions altogether cease with *Tract XC* three hundred years later. Laud reacted unfavourably, and he wrote (apparently in 1641): "I never sawe that Franciscan Fryer in my life (to the uttermost of mye Memorye) above 4 times or 5, at the most. He was first brought to me by Dr. Linsye. It was when he was gettinge out His Booke about ye Articles of ye Church of England. And I then told Dr. Linsye he would never expound them soe as the church of England might have cause to thanke him for it." The book was put on the *Index* in Spain, and in Venice the Jesuits fulminated against it, but it was never condemned formally at Rome, perhaps because the King was delighted with it, and Windebanke warned Panzani of the harm that would be done to the cause of reunion, if it were censured. Nevertheless Panzani was ordered by Cardinal Barberini, the papal secretary of state, to get Davenport to purge the errors of the book, preferably abroad. But surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird, and Sancta Clara on the plea of infirmity evaded Barberini's personal order to leave the country. So late as 1639 Barberini was blaming him *inter alios* for the readiness of many Catholics to take the oath of allegiance. When he died, chaplain to Catherine of Braganza, at Somerset house in 1680, he was credited with having spent 57 years on the English mission. Sancta Clara's elder brother, John Davenport, was vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and one of the Twelve Feoffees, with whom John Geree, the vicar of Tewkesbury in Goodman's diocese may have been associated. He was an eminent Puritan divine, of whom Laud spoke more kindly than of his brother as "a most religious man who fled to New England for the sake of a good conscience."

Panzani had not been in England a month before he recorded in his *Diary*: "Father Francis, the author of *De Natura Gratiae* (*sic*) came. . . . He said that the Bishop of Gloucester wished to speak with me. I said I would hear all." Two days later he wrote, "Then Sigr. Hammond or Jaxon (*sic*) came, who told me that at Court it is thought that the Pope will only do what the Jesuits say. He gave me some notes of pasquinades made by these Jesuits against the Pope." On February the 9th Sancta Clara informed him that the State wished for union, and that he knew the Jesuits were opposed to it. On May the 9th Dom Leander, whose mission to England is discussed below, told him that he was ill-treated without reason at Rome. The entry of June the 2nd is important. "Sigr. Eraldo came to see me and told me that the Bishop of Lincoln would willingly see me and honour me and that Carnial (sic) Berrulle was often with him, and that the Capuchins were much respected by him, and that he liberated 60 priests in one day. He also said that the Bishops of London and Gloucester are very kind and moderate. That the Archbishop of Canterbury wishes to see the union grow. . . . That the Bishops as they are jealous one of another will not dare to say any word about the union, but if they could, many would unite, if the chalice might be restored, and if the Pope did not use tyranny." It was not until October the 28th that he was able to record that the Bishop of Chichester wished to speak to him. Goodman and Juxon, not to speak of Williams, who always wished to insure against every contingency, were first in the field, but there is no evidence that they ever interviewed

Panzani, whereas Mountague had lengthy discussions with him. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who had been the pupil of Goodman's stepfather, Edward Thelwall, might have been supposed to be the very last person who would be found on Panzani's doorstep. Yet, on July the 11th, Panzani wrote in his *Diary,* "Erbert was with me to declare he recognised the Roman Church for Mother, and that he had subjected to her benign censure his book, and promised to explain and correct what was objected to in the book *De Veritate,* and the History of Henry VIII."

By the beginning of 1636, Sancta Clara had become Goodman's "greatest friend." But Sancta Clara found him "very friendly with the Jesuits," and there is other evidence to show that he was in touch with both sides in the conflict that diverted the energies of the Papalists from their main task in England. His sympathies seem to have been divided at this stage; which may help to explain why Windebanke and Mountague, who associated the Jesuits and the Puritans in a common condemnation, so distasted him: though another motive may have been their wish to curry favour with Laud.

Another important preliminary to Goodman's dealings with Rome during and after Panzani's agency, was the mission to England of Dom Leander a Sancto Martino, a Benedictine abbot who, as John Jones, had shared a room with Laud at St. John's college, Oxford. He came as president-general of the English Benedictines early in 1634, with a permit from the King, and he was authorised by the Holy See to report on the condition of his co-religionists in England. If he did not come at Laud's request, Laud must at least have been cognisant of, and have acquiesced in, his mission. Wood said that he was "a person of extraordinary eloquence, generally knowing in all arts and sciences, beloved of all that knew him and his worth, and hated by none but by the Puritans and Jesuits." He seems to have worked in concert with the Franciscans while he was in England, and he was the first to be buried in the Capuchins' new chapel in Somerset house. Dom David Codner, a Benedictine who ruffled it as a layman in the Queen's household, vouched for the authenticity of the many testimonials of approval from Papalist theologians, that formed the preface to Sancta Clara's book. One of the theologians was Gilles Chaissy, also a Recollect. Perhaps it was he who twice offered Laud a cardinal's hat after he became archbishop: or it may have been Codner, acting for Leander, who seems to have been out of England at the time. Was Chaissy the "M. St. Giles," whom Laud referred to in or about 1641 as "a man well reported of in France: and placed about ye Q: Maiesty at her Ma: first comming hither. Afte rsome services & those in a very faire waye done to this state he lost ground in France & when some other Frenchmen wear sent away from ye Q: service, he durst not goe thither, but chose to live heare in a very lowe condition for safetye sake rather than adventure thither." Laud was meticulously accurate, and his memory was seldom at fault. His remarks suggest that "M. St. Giles" was an Oratorian rather than a Capuchin.

Laud goes on to narrate how the King took pity on "M. St. Giles," and made Laud his bursar, "that he might receave at set times 100 markes a yeare." Then "resolving (as he pretended) to follow Metaphysicall learning, & not to engage himself in ye controversyes of the tyme," St. Giles persuaded the King to ask Laud that he might live in one of the colleges at Oxford. Laud demurred on the ground that the undergraduates must not be contaminated, and the upshot was that he was allowed to live in lodgings in the university. Laud had never had any discourse with him "but once only & that was about a dangerous opinion of pomponatius," which Laud warned him not to meddle with "in these tymes." Gilles Chaissey did his best to convert Laud in the days of his trials. He was not far from Charles himself, and anxiously expected a summons from him up to the very last moment, on that memorable 30th of January, 1649. If he and "M. St. Giles" were one and the same person, his particular solicitude for the two martyrs of the Anglo-Catholic Faith is explained.

Leander was successful up to a point in composing the differences between the seculars and the regulars, but the Jesuit provincial refused to sign the articles of agreement. He was less successful over the oath of allegiance. On the 17th of December, 1634, he took the oath himself, in a form of his own composition, which denied the deposing power and condemned that doctrine of tyrannicide which the Jesuits shared with the Calvinists. He sent this to Rome with the draft of a conciliatory letter, which he suggested that the Pope might send to the King, and—most temerariously—a list of concessions which might lead to corporate reunion between Rome and Canterbury. The Church of England, he said, approximated to that of Rome more closely than was generally supposed.

Leander's proposals foreshadowed the much more exhaustive scheme, which was drafted in or about 1671 by another Benedictine, Serenus Cressy. Cressy advocated the use of the vernacular, except in the canon of the mass, and at ordinations. The Anglican version of the Bible should be allowed, as it was superior to that of Douai or Rheims, though the Vulgate would be the authoritative version. Every church should have two altars, at one of which Communion would be given in both kinds, " And it is likely that in a short time there will succeed an Uniformity." As to Anglican orders: the Nag's Head fable must be abandoned, nor would it be easy to disprove that " their first Ordainers (though then Schismaticks) had their Ordinations from the Catholick Church." Conditional reordination would meet the difficulty. As to the marriage of the clergy, any condescendence " lyes only in the Pope's breast." Married priests should be disqualified for higher office in the Church. Cressy showed a sly sense of humour when he added, " I suppose that the present maried Bishops and Priests will not be very zealous and solicitous to claim extraordinary Privilege in this nature for their Successors." Cressy showed the same distrust of the Jesuits as Leander, in his remarks on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Pope had been misinformed about affairs in England by an active party, which had " obtained several Bulls very burdensome and pernicious to the common peace and safety." The Catholic clergy in England were too much addicted to Spain and the Jesuits. The Pope should grant to England equal privileges with France, the most-favoured Catholic nation. A necessary condition of union would be to exorcise the fear of persecution, which " can not be justified in conscience to be suitable to the spirit of Christianity."

The link between Leander's and Cressy's proposals probably was Sancta Clara, whose long span of priestly life covered more than half the century. Anthony Wood found them both in Somerset house in 1669, when he compared Cressy (to his disadvanatge), with Sancta Clara. Of the letter he said he was " a person of very free discourse; but Cressy was reserved; of a vivacious and quick countenance: the other clouded and melancholick: of a quick apprehension: but the other not: or at least would not." Cressy in his Anglican days had belonged to that Great Tew circle, which included William Chillingworth, John Earle, and George Aglionby. It was in the same year 1669, that Cressy, taken out of his reserve by John Aubrey's eager and unaffected interest, imparted to him that he had been the first to bring the works of Socinus to England: and that Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland had become the first English Socinian through reading them.

Great Tew is about thirty-five miles north of West Ilsley. Goodman's detestation of Socinianism already has been referred to: Falkland, even without his Socinianism, he was to have no cause to love: and his only link with the Great Tew circle seems to have been George Aglionby. Aglionby, an Old Westminster and later a master there, was the son of Dr. John Aglionby, principal of St. Edmund Hall. He was the intimate friend of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, as well as of Falkland, but his preferments came to him as tutor of the young Duke of Buckingham, who was brought up with the royal children. Brian Duppa, also an Old Westminster, was tutor to the young princes, and he seems to have given Aglionby a stall at Chichester when he became Bishop there in 1638. Aglionby succeeded to the stall of his uncle, Dr. John King, at Westminster in 1638, but he never lived to enjoy his deanery of Canterbury, for he "died at Oxford, 1643, of the epidemique disease then raging." It is noteworthy that it was in the house of Aglionby's widow, who was then accounted a Papalist, that Goodman died in 1656. Apparently it was at this very interview with Wood, that Sancta Clara claimed to have played the chief part in Goodman's reconciliation with the Church of Rome some years before he died. Sancta Clara was still "a great enemy of the Jesuits" when Sir Kenelm Digby cured him of a quartan ague in Paris in 1653: and there is no reason to suppose that he had changed his views, which agreed with Cressy's, when Wood visited him in 1669.

It is hardly surprising that Leander, Cressy and Davenport all died in England. Davenport's book and Leander's proposals both had given offence at Rome, and *a fortiori* Cressy's discourse, if it ever reached Rome, may be presumed to have been even less acceptable to Barberini. Leander died in London on the 17th of December 1635, a year after Panzani's arrival. The latter wrote to Barberini that many Protestants called to see Leander before he died, among them a bishop, who particularly wanted an interview. But his brethren who were with him, in view of the interpretation that might be put on the visit, would not sanction it. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the bishop was Goodman. The indiscretion is typical of him. The only other likely candidates are Robert Wright, of Coventry and Lichfield, whom Panzani reported to be "quasi Cattolico," but "coniugato," and Montague of Chichester, who was "moderatissimo," but likewise "coniugato." Like Goodman he suffered from gall-tones, and also—perhaps like Goodman—presented in consequence an emaciated figure to the world.

Whether it were Goodman or Mountague who asked to see Leander on his death-bed—and from what is known of both, it is more likely to have been Goodman—both were in close touch with Panzani within eighteen months. It was characteristic of Goodman not to see, or not to care that Mountague and Windebanke were privileged persons, who might with impunity take risks that a man already under suspicion would be wise to eschew. In the light of his dealings with Panzani, which are unintelligible apart from it, it is safe to assume that Goodman had followed with sustained interest the movement towards a *rapprochement* with Rome, in which his friends Sancta Clara and Leander had been protagonists, up to a point where he could no longer hold aloof.

All footnotes are omitted for the sake of brevity.

REVIEWS

HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE U.S.A.

AMERICAN HISTORY AND AMERICAN HISTORIANS: A REVIEW OF RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By H. HALE BELLOT. The Athlone Press, 1952. 25s.

THIS is a book of high value to every serious student of American history: a swift but prescient survey of strong currents in the writing of history during the past seventy-five years (particularly since 1910), and a thorough bibliographical manual. The Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History in the University of London manifests a power of penetrating to the heart of things with a dispassionate candour rare among most of the historians whom he discusses in this volume. Here is Professor Bellot on Charles F. Beard's economic interpretation of the motives of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, for instance: " There was some danger that Beard's books would feed the superstition that it is more sordid to pursue the interests of a creditor than those of a debtor; and it is easy to divert the argument to a profitless debate upon the depravity of man as a political animal, in which it is difficult to make much progress." Such passages are head and shoulders above the talents of many of the Middle Western historians whose writings constitute Mr. Bellot's chief interest.

This volume's title is somewhat broader, it ought to be said, than is the field which Professor Bellot actually takes for his province. Concerned almost exclusively with economic and constitutional history, he has scant room for diplomacy and the history of ideas, and he omits historical biography deliberately. Such limitations are legitimate, of course; but they necessarily leave out of consideration certain writers of high talents—Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, for instance—whose immediate influence upon the American mind is equal to that of any other historian, perhaps, that Professor Bellot discusses. And they may produce in the mind of the English reader an impression that the writing of history in America starves for lack of poetic imagination and philosophic outlook. Surely there is a dearth of those broad views and of that spirit of dedication which made the old New England historians great; and in large part, this aridity of recent historical writing is the legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner, the Middle Western school, and fidelity to a method alleged to be pure induction; but there still remains another side to the coin. If Professor Bellot says little about the survival of the older historical writing in the United States, on the other hand he is too polite, perhaps, in undertaking no decided criticism of the deficiencies of the Middle Westerners.

"It can indeed be said with some truth that very little American history that was written before 1900 is current to-day, though that little may be very imporant," Mr. Bellot observes; "and that after 1910 men of the elder school began to be outmoded, and if they did not altogether cease to produce, lost their importance." This reviewer may be allowed to observe that little of what has been written *since* 1900 is truly readable, or illuminated by general views; certainly it does not resemble philosophy teaching by example. Professor Bellot's interesting first chapter is a discussion of the origins and course of this radical alteration in historical method among Americans. The principal impulse behind it was an admiration for Germanic scholarship. C. K. Adams, John W. Burgess, Herbert B. Adams, and the whole procession of Germanophiles imposed upon the old-fashioned liberal-arts college and the old-fashioned teachers of history, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the ponderous apparatus and "scientific" aims of the German universities. John Hopkins University, founded in 1876, wholly Teutonic in its nature, influenced immensely the course of historiography throughout America. Even Henry Adams, the great representative of the New England tradition, made his youthful pilgrimate to Germany and was determined to write "scientific" history. Infinite mischief—this opinion, like those immediately preceding, is the reviewer's, not Professor Bellot's—has been done to historical writing in consequence, so that what remains of a public for history in the United States commonly is reduced to choosing between the platitudes of Professors Commager and Nevins (the expression of a dim liberal-democratic neo-orthodoxy) and the turgid outpourings of most university presses—monographs written by that dismal creature the Ph.D. without philosophic views.

Professor Bellot sometimes glances indulgently toward that school of historians who believe that a history of trouser-buttons (no exaggeration: Professor Sherman Kent, in his recent *The Writing of History*, approves precisely this example) is a subject as valid for historians as are constitutions, wars, and ideas. Henry Adams knew better; in a passage from his *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, cited by Mr. Bellot, he says of the America of 1806:

> Every day a million men went to their work, every evening they

changing world. That it should have emerged from the ordeal "more firmly established" than ever seems, in the retrospect, little short of miraculous. The century made an indifferent start. The later Hanoverian sovereigns were not impressive figures. In their careless hands the prestige of royalty, the almost religious significance attaching to the kingly function, had fallen to a dangerously low level. The prolonged insanity of George III, the scandals that gathered round the name of George IV, the lack of dignity displayed by his more amiable successor, had all contributed to the same end. When William IV died (not greatly regretted) in 1837 it must have seemed to many—particularly in view of what had happened across the English channel not so very many years ago—that the days of the British monarchy were numbered. The situation was saved by what was almost an accident. No one can say what would have happened if King William's successor had been another unattractive and discredited Hanoverian prince. In fact it was a young woman of eighteen, almost unknown to the public, and wholly untainted by Hanoverian vices, who emerged from the shades of Kensington Palace, in all the gracious charms of girlhood, to assume the immense responsibilities of the most conspicuous throne in the world.

Undoubtedly Queen Victoria's long and successful reign replaced the monarchy on a firm basis. But it had its ups and downs like other human institutions. After her husband's death in 1861, the Queen remained in obstinate seclusion for the forty years that still remained to her of life. Ministers might remonstrate, the press might thunder; it was all to no purpose. The Queen withdrew to her Highland fastness and kept the public resolutely at arm's length. She came to London as seldom as possible; only at the rarest intervals would she consent to open Parliament in person; and, in a word, she allowed the ceremonial functions of the Crown to fall into almost complete desuetude. For a time, she incurred some measure of unpopularity. But it did not last long. By degrees a new conception of Royalty came into being; the figure of the disconsolate widow, swathed in sable garments, escorted by mysterious Indian attendants and plunged in eternal mourning for the loss of her incomparable husband, acquired an extraordinary hold upon the public imagination. The Queen became a living legend, an embodied cult whose worshippers were not confined to her own subjects (numerous as they were) but were scattered throughout the inhabited world. Other thrones and dynasties paled into insignificance. The solemnities of Vienna and the posturings of Berlin seemed cheap and commonplace beside the awful isolation of the Widow of Windsor.

The worst of such a system was that, of necessity, it died with the Queen herself. Neither widow's cap nor Indian *Munshi* was of any avail to her successor. He had to devise his own royal techcame home with some work accomplished; but the result was matter for a census rather than for history. The acres brought into cultivation, the cattle bred, the houses built, proved no doubt that human beings, like ants and bees, could indefinitely multiply their numbers, and could lay up stores of food; but these statistics offered no evidence that the human being, any more than the ant and the bee, was conscious of a higher destiny, or was even mechanically developing into a more efficient animal.

Precisely this is the sort of historical admonition, and the style of historical writing, which the American mind needs to-day. Professor Bellot describes for us principally the recent history of *things* in America—in part because the obsession of the dominant school of historians has been with things. Increasingly, nevertheless, the American people will have to concern themselves with considerations which are not physically mensurable. " In every state, not wholly barbarous, a philosophy, good or bad, there must be," Coleridge wrote in *Essays on His Own Times*. " However slightingly it may be the fashion to talk of speculation and theory, as opposed (sillily and nonsensically opposed) to practice, it would not be difficult to prove, that such is the existing spirit of speculation, during any given period, such will be the spirit and tone of the religion, legislation, and morals, nay, even of the fine arts, the manners, and the fashions." We may hope that by the year 2000 some critical historian of Professor Bellot's attainments may give society an account of the preceding half-century in American historiography in which the Idea is not necessarily obscured by the Thing. " Nor is this the less true, because the great majority of men live like bats, but in twilight, and know and feel the philosophy of their age only by its reflections and refractions."

RUSSELL KIRK.

THIS SCEPTER'D ISLE

KING GEORGE V: HIS LIFE AND REIGN. By HAROLD NICOLSON. Constable & Co. 42s.

THE reign of George V lasted rather more than a quarter of a century. During that period, says Mr. Nicolson, " the world witnessed the disappearance of five Emperors, eight Kings and eighteen minor dynasties. The British Monarchy emerged from the convulsion more firmly established than it had been before." Truly a remarkable epoch in the thousand-year history of Kingship in the " scepter'd isle " of Britain. It provided a fitting climax to a period of still longer duration, to the century (all but a few months) that elapsed between the accession of Queen Victoria and the death of George V. A century during which British monarchy underwent many vicissitudes and was compelled, over and over again, to readjust its outlook and its methods to the requirements of a rapidly nique. He did his best, during his short reign, to restore the Court to its former splendour and to place the sovereign once again in the full limelight of popular appreciation and applause. It was a brilliant experiment while it lasted; perhaps it was just as well for Edward VII that it lasted for so comparatively brief a spell. There is always the risk that people may grow tired of pageantry and of some of the consequences to which pageantry gives rise.

It remained for George V to place the coping stone on a century of reestablishment and rehabilitation. His task was not an easy one. Mr. Nicolson puts the position succinctly:—" In the reign of King George," he writes, " the foundations of stability were shaken, our power and prosperity diminished, and new forces were brought into operation which, within a quarter of a century, changed the structure of the world." The King, on his accession, stepped straight into the acute controversy raging over the Parliament Bill, in the course of which he was compelled, with only dubious precedents to guide him, to take a decision of the highest constitutional moment. A few years later came the first world war and after that the peace with all its disquieting, and indeed terrifying, consequences both internal and external. It fell to him to call the first Labour Government into being in 1924, and to take part in the discussions in 1931 which resulted, at a time when the country stood on the verge of bankruptcy, in the formation of a National Government under a Labour Prime Minister. His later years were clouded, not only by ill-health, but by the gathering shadows on the international horizon which portended, only too faithfully, the outbreak of another world war.

Through this formidable jungle King George threaded his way with endless patience, goodwill and repression of personal prejudices or preconceptions. To all his ministers alike, whatever their party or past record, he showed the same confidence and helpfulness. Always ready with advice or suggestion when required, he never pressed his own views unduly or failed to recognise the limitations surrounding a constitutional sovereign. Of all his Prime Ministers, Asquith and Ramsay MacDonald seem to have enjoyed the greatest measure of his personal esteem. Both, be it noted, were men who suffered, at one time or another, more than a fair share of party obloquy and denunciation. The King himself cared little for adverse criticism. He took it, as every public man should, as all in the day's work. But there were occasions when unfair attack stung him into indignation. He was much incensed, so Mr. Nicolson tells us, when H. G. Wells denounced him as an " alien " during the first world war. Rather unnecessarily so, perhaps. It was a typical piece of vulgar impertinence: the impertinence of an upstart towards a superior whose position (as the upstart was well aware) prevented him from hitting back. In fact the charge was ludicrously wide of the mark. In every quality and characteristic, in his foibles as well as in his virtues, King George was entirely and unalterably English. He was John Bull incarnate and unmistakable: the typical Englishman of all time. That is why, by the end of his reign, he had acquired so firm a hold upon the affections of the English people.

Mr. Nicolson's book, it is scarcely necessary to say, is admirably written and arranged. One would expect nothing else from so distinguished a writer. At rare intervals his own political predilections show some sign of emergence; but for the most part his judgments are as restrained and impartial as the most exacting reader could desire. One conclusion concerning the reign of George V establishes itself beyond all question: seldom, if ever, in the course of its long history, has our " scepter'd isle " been more fortunate in its sceptre-holder.

JOHN PULLEN.

A GREAT ANGLICAN

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND NATION. By R. H. MALDEN. With a Preface by CHARLES SMYTH. S.P.C.K. 25s.

KENNETH Mozley once said to a friend, " You are the second-best Anglican I know." It is probable that he did not mean the second-best person, being Anglican, but only a person highly susceptible to the influence of the Anglican ethos. The recipient of the tribute could not forbear to ask who was his No. 1. He replied, " Dick Malden ". This book contains not a little of the evidence for that estimate.

It is a book of an unusual kind. It had its origin in lectures, and the lecture-style has been retained in the printed book. It is not a manual for students; it passes very lightly over a number of things about which students would require detailed information, e.g. the contents of the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Book and much else. It is rather an attempt, and a very successful attempt to explain how things have come to be as they are. Figgis once remarked that the purpose of reading history was to enable you to understand the *Times* from day to day. It would not be in all respects accurate to say that this book was written to enable readers to understand the *Church Times* from week to week, but it does account for existing situations. If it is possible to imagine an intellligent boy walking with his benevolent and very well-informed uncle up and down England, and perpetually asking such questions as, " Uncle, what is tithe; what are cathedrals for; what are chantry-chapels; why do you say that the best evidence for the character of a period is its architecture; what do you mean by ' Catholic '; how did the Pope become so powerful; what are Indulgences, and Dispensations, and Canon Law; what is a *via media;* why does the Prime Minister appoint Bishops; what do you mean by saying that the Church of

England expresses the English character; what is the English character? "—the book would supply answers to them all, and to many more.

Alternatively, it is like the discursive talk of a cultured Christian Englishman, invited to explain at some length why he is and could be only a Churchman. There are in the ranks of the English clergy many scholarly and cultured men, and Richard Malden was an outstnding example of the type. He was and remained a classical scholar, and his scholarship enriches his book at many points. Incidentally, he suggests that wars would have been averted if all University teaching had continued to be given in Latin. He was perhaps a little impatient with those who know no Latin. Not long before he went to his first curacy in Manchester, he said, "The people in my parish won't like me much, because they will think that Manchester is the most important place in the world, and I shall know it isn't".

This touch of intolerance—on the surface—was lifelong. But only on the surface. Essentially, his profoundly Christian character, with experience gained in Lancashire, as a young don at Selwyn, in Yorkshire, with the Navy, and at Wells brought him to a far more generous view of life. He was always something of an aristrocrat. Yet, as Canon Smyth points out in his charming Preface and Memoir, he was kind-hearted, courageous and utterly sincere. And he was English, and Anglican, to the backbone.

To return to the book, even if it be borne in mind that it does not set out to be a complete history, there are gaps in the treatment. The Celtic Paschal controversy is regarded as identical with second-century Quartodecimanism; we do not learn that the trouble between Henry II and Becket had begun with William I; the Nicene Creed is described as having come from Nicaea and Constantinople, with nothing said about Jerusalem and St. Cyril; in the section about Canon Law Maitland is not mentioned; and we do not hear anything about Erasmus or Colet. There is also a mysterious reference to one John Salisbury, who is said to have taken part in the consecration of Matthew Parker. John Scory must surely have been intended.

These are small things. Meantime, the story marches on with a majestic sweep. It owes a good deal at several points to Creighton. It is indeed the story of Church and Nation, not as "two minds with but a single thought", but as the two hands of an active person of strongly-marked character. One of the best things is a series of sketches of the Bishops of Bath and Wells during the hundred years from 1450 to 1550. The general tendency of the record is, so to speak, eirenic, at least so far as the main course of events is concerned. Persecution is hateful, but we can see how it arose. Henry VIII despoiled the Church, but he at least strengthened the

Episcopate. The Church in the eighteenth century was uninspired, but that was because it was deemed by everyone to be all-important to prevent a Jacobite revolution. There are, scattered up and down the book, a number of verdicts with which some will quarrel, e.g. on Laud, Newman, Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*, and on the lessons to be drawn from periods of history, but the pungent vivacity with which they are expressed will be a delight to all.

It may be supposed that, as the author of the Preface to Crockford for a number of years (but not in 1952!) Malden was not a fanatical admirer of the Church Assembly. His closing sentence is a double-edged masterpiece:—

> Speaking generally, the Assembly's record for intelligence, wisdom, foresight, and grasp of the real nature of any problem with which it has had to deal between the years 1921 and 1945 will stand comparison with that of the House of Commons during the same period.

It recalls the famous remark of the Master of Trinity after hearing Sir John Seeley's inaugural lecture as Professor of Modern History. "Well, I did not think that we should so soon have occasion to regret poor Kingsley ".

It is to be hoped that the book will have many readers, especially among the large class of otherwise well-educated people who feel in their bones that they must be Church of England, but do not quite know why.

S. C. CARPENTER.

EVOLUTION: A CHRISTIAN ASSESSMENT

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION. By PHILIP G. FOTHERGILL, B.Sc., Ph.. With a Foreword by J. W. HESLOP HARRISON, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R.S.E. Hollis and Carter. 35s.

THIS is a valuable and important book. The writer, himself a Roman Catholic, is concerned to bring home what should be an obvious truth, but is in fact too often denied, by implication at least, both by the defenders and the foes of religion namely that evolution, the hypothesis that all forms of life descend from other forms until the simplest is reached, as I would express it universal parentage is a scientific hypothesis to be judged as such on the scientific evidence, not on grounds of theological belief. As the author says many people think " that one could look at the scientific theory of evolution from a Catholic, or a Protestant or a Buddhist point of view."

On the other hand, philosophy can, I believe, speak in favour of evolution as the sole hypothesis rationally acceptable. Dr. Fothergill says little of his personal opinions. He is content to indicate that evolution is the only hypothesis which does justice to the evidence and that in its scientific aspect its *modus operandi* is not teleological. This however does not mean that this scientific account is a complete explanation of the facts. It must be supplemented by a philosophic view which, the author indicates, must be teleological and theistic. But he also insists that we know very little of the evolutionary *modus operandi*. Experiments and observations based on Mendelian genetics have thrown considerable light on the production of new varieties, even of new species or subspecies. But how the wider divisions arose we do not know. The study of evolution is in fact, as he points out, still in its infancy. Dr. Fothergill, in view of so much uncertainty has preferred to treat his subject historically, to trace the doctrine of evolution from its first prescientific suggestion to the present day. Criticisms of one scientist by others are explained, conflicting theories and the arguments for and against them impartially stated. In particular the controversy is followed between the neo Darwinians for whom natural selection is the sole evolutionary agent and the neo Lamarckians for whom the principal agent is the inheritance of acquired modifications. Darwin, however, it is pointed out, was not himself a pure Darwinian on this point as Wallace was. For he admitted Lamarckian inheritance as a subsidiary factor. An account is given of various experiments which have been and still are claimed to prove the Lamarckian hypothesis that acquired characters may be inherited. Genetics, the scientific study of heredity begun by Abbot Mendel's experiments with peas, which has thrown so much light on the origin and survival of minor differences is studied in detail and its evolutionary implications explained.

For example, we are informed that a recent natural hybrid—the subspecies Spartina Townsendii, has not only survived but it is spreading at the expense of the parent subspecies. To have removed religious and antireligious doctrine from a level where nothing is in place except detailed scientific observation and experiment, to have given us so full a conspectus of the views of evolution hitherto defended by reputable scientists and the arguments they have employed and above all perhaps to have shown how little we yet know of the factors determining evolution and their method of operation are the outstanding merits of this book.

Where does contemporary science stand in regard to evolution? How did it reach the positions it now occupies or disputes? What lines of research are most likely to throw further light on the many unsolved problems and doubtful issues? On all these points we should be surprised if any other book were more informative, if indeed so informative, as this.

We have considered evolution as the evolution of living organisms. But as Dr. Fothergill points out in his epilogue, if held consistently it involves also an evolution of the organic from the inorganic, as to which we are still in the dark. A virus, however, he informs us, behaves in some respects like a living organism, in others like inorganic matter.

The English of the book is by no means so excellent as its matter. It is often extremely awkward. On several occasions we wondered whether the author's meaning had been accurately stated. In any case " not found " on page 284, sixth line from the bottom, must be a mistake for " found." There is no reason to believe that Scotus did " give an impetus to the discrediting of philosophy." (59). Nor is there any contrast between " human reason " and " scientific method." (*Ibid.*). What is intended is a contrast between *a priori* reasoning and reasoning based on observation and experiment. This in fact is an instance of that inaccurate use of English on which we have just commented. On page 71 we are quite at a loss to understand the relation between Linnaeus' class Vermes and Lamarck's class invertebrata. They appear to be identical yet different. We suspect some inaccuracy in the very clumsy English of this passage. Nor do we find Herbert Spencer's definition of evolution as a transition from a relatively indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a relatively definite coherent herogeneity a " rather meaningless formula." Though far from sufficient it states one aspect of the process, at any rate in some fields of its operation.

E. I. WATKIN.

USEFUL APOLOGETIC

THE RETREAT FROM CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD. By J. V. LANGMEAD CASSERLEY. The Maurice Lectures for 1951. Longmans, Green and Co. London. 1952. 12s. 6d.

DR. Casserley's theme, expounded with deliberate pugnacity, is how and why so many people have ceased to be Christians during the past two centuries. He discerns two retreats from Christianity, one into irreligion, the other into false religion. The irreligious, if they think, may be old-fashioned rationalists accepting the limited Deist concept of reason and an unwarrantably simplified view of man and his problems. They may have adopted a " scientific outlook " which accepts nothing as real which cannot be detected by the scientific method. They may be radical atheists like Nietzsche, or, like Feuerbach and Marx, deify a collective humanity. But most people who have become irreligious have not reasoned themselves into their condition. They have drifted into, and now acquiesce in it for deep sociological and psychological reasons, obscure to themselves, but laid bare by Dr. Casserley. They present the Church of the twentieth century not with " the relatively light (task) of rebutting anti-Christian arguments, but with the much more difficult one of reversing prevailing social trends."

Serious as all this is, the retreat into false religion is worse. Some find a substitute for Christianity in a natural religion without dogma; others in one, or a synthesis, of the religions of the east; others in one of the new political religions of which Communism is at once the most appealing and the most menacing. A spiritual vacuum has been allowed to come into existence, and has been filled with something very frightening, the state standing where it ought not. The French Catholic existentialist philospher, Gabriel Marcel, is quoted: " There are different levels at which men understand God. It is true that the state in our time, even in countries where it has not reached the totalitarian phase, has become more and more the engrosser and dispenser of all sorts of favours. . . . In this respect the state is properly comparable to a God, but to the God of degraded cults on whom the sorcerer claims to exercise his magic powers."

It is a pity that a good book on so high a theme should not have been better. Dr. Casserley we know to be a learned sociologist, and his judgements should deserve serious attention from the Christian looking for good arguments, and from any man of good will who is disturbed by our present discontents. The book will certainly hearten the hard-pressed Christian, but it is doubtful whether it will make non-Christians think again. Dr. Casserley's style is excited, yet because he so often lapses into the inflated jargon of his science he fails to communicate excitement. His sentences creak under the weight of superfluous adjectives. Some of his statements are slapdash and highly disputable and will irritate without stimulating. They will give the impression that he never knows what he is talking about, which would be very unjust, for so much of what he says is sound. He has a perplexing habit of hitting out very hard indeed, and almost immediately modifying his criticism. It looks as though the academic and the apologetic aims are in conflict, and that he has not decided what he is trying to do. Too much of the book reads like a brilliant monologue from the distinguished visitor to an S.C.M. group who feels it necessary alternately to provoke and placate his audience.

At intervals in the book, and at length in a chapter entitled " The ineptitude of modern theology " he discusses the failure of Christian theologians to stem the flight and head the rally. His argument runs thus: Much theology has been ineffective since the 16th century because its aim has been wrong. It has been biblical and historical (concerned with what is in the Bible and what has happened in history?) rather than philosophical, and scholarship has become first the master of thought and then a substitute for thought. We need a new prophetic theology in the tradition of F. D. Maurice and a revival of the classic intellectualism of the greatest of the Christian fathers and schoolmen. A theology and philosophy of this kind alone will serve as the intellectual foundation for Christian, and ultimately human, reunion in the twentieth century. Already there are signs of theological renaissance, and it may be confidently claimed that the twentieth century is the greatest age in theology since the thirteenth. There is much that is true and timely in Dr. Casserley's criticism, but his denunciations are too sweeping and his claims too bold for any considering reader to take him seriously. Beside the book by Canon J. K. Mozley reviewed recently in these pages his account of recent theology is trivial and jejune.

Yet there are enough good things in what Dr. Casserley himself describes as the bran tub to make it worth reviewing, and, with qualification, commending. The distinction between religion in general and Christianity in particular, and the insistence that the choice for the modern world lies not between Christianity and unbelief but between Christianity and idolatry; the appreciation and criticism of Mr. Fred Hoyle; and the sympathetic, discerning description of the painful freedom of modern men, in the chapter, " The sufferings of this present time ", are all good, and provide useful material for the Christian apologist. More books of intelligent apologetic are needed, and this one is by no means to be neglected.

R. CANT.

ECUMENISM AND EASTERN ORTHODOXY

VISION AND ACTION: THE PROBLEMS OF ECUMENISM. By L. A. ZANDER. Victor Gollancz. 18s.

THE REINTEGRATION OF THE CHURCH. By NICHOLAS ZERNOV. S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Zander has written a notable book. Not only is he personally a theologian of wide experience of the ecumenical movement, but his present work supplies what has for long been a gap for English readers, a presentation of ecumenism and its problems from the standpoint of Eastern Orthodoxy. If it is clear that one single voice cannot speak for the whole of Orthodoxy, his thorough understanding of and loyalty to his own confession makes his personal contribution one of quite exceptional value.

His conclusion is at first sight somewhat disappointing. The goal of ecumenism should be " Unity without Union ". On the institutional plane, the end of our divisions is not even in sight. That which is real and possible is unessential, and the significant and the essential is " impossible ". Every ecumenical gathering, however, reveals a mystical unity which can be regarded as the foretaste of a deeper unity which is to be. If Dr. Zander speaks of this mystical experience in terms of conversion, it is clear that something deeper and more objective than a mere psychological change of individuals is implied resting upon a unity which has not been completely lost despite all our divisions.

In comparison with this, the author finds the steps actual or possible towards institutional reintegration as quite secondary in character. At best they can lead only to the replacement of sects by confessions, and cannot touch the fundamental divisions between Catholic and Protestant or East and West. There is room here for the opposite opinion. Mountains can only be scaled by first climbing their foothills.

In many respects his conclusions appear surprisingly liberal. Starting from the *sobornost* conception of the Catholicity of the Church, he suggests that there may be degrees of " Churchiness " and of " Hereticity ". (The English words here used do not appear happily chosen though it is hard to think of any better single word substitutes). " Churchiness " is not for Orthodoxy a matter of " Yes " or " No " but rather of an " in so far as ". Even to call a man a heretic is to admit that he is a Christian brother. Even liberal scholars might expect from Professor Zander a more charitable judgment than (let us say) from Karl Barth! He breaks fresh ground in his rejection of proselytising for theological reasons; it is more than merely an example of ecumenical good manners.

Dr. Zander remains, however, a stout champion of Orthodoxy. For him clearly the fundamental divide is between East and West and the true partner to Orthodoxy in an ecumenical dialogue should be the whole West. He offers a penetrating analysis of the difference between East and West. Much of this material is familiar enough, but the importance which the East attaches to Unity of Rite is not always realised. The interesting sketch of possible Reunion proposals from the point of view of Orthodoxy made by the late Professor Kartashov deserves more attention than they have yet received. He has an important section upon Mariology to which the Orthodox pay special attention. Many, however, will feel that these claims are pitched rather high. It is difficult, for example, to conceive the importance of Mariology for cosmology. Some will go further and regard Mariology as resting upon a dislocation of the proper balance of Christology. It is not quite clear what he means by " the particular tonality " which devotion to the Blessed Virgin gives to the whole doctrinal position of those who accept it. The importance of such questions for ecumenical relations has scarcely begun to be realised.

His attitude to the Roman Catholic Church follows the normal Orthodox lines. He has a flair for telling quotations from Roman Catholic authors. It is certainly refreshing to find the duty of private judgment assented by someone who could not be called a Protestant by any stretch of imagination. He suggests that Roman Catholicism stands for a certain ecclesiological nominalism whereas Orthodoxy maintains a mystical realism in its doctrine of the

Church. Rome suffers from a hypertrophy of power, is preoccupied with canonical and institutional considerations, so that in practice she fails to take adequate account of the spiritual and mystical realities outside her own borders. This reveals itself in the Achilles heel of Roman Catholic theology—the denial of the Churchmanship of those whose Christianity extra ecclesiam she is prepared to admit.

The book abounds in illuminating discussions of particular points. Intercommunion, the Marks of the Church and the Nature of Unity lost, sought or preserved, are of special importance. The possession of the Bible should however surely have put among the elements of unity retained instead of receiving an important, though passing mention later on in the discussion. There are also a number of devastating amalyses of some ecumenical clichés such as the accepted use of the text "ut omnes unum sint" and the term "una sancta". The book is admirably produced but a few names like Daniélou, Skydsgaard and Boergner appear in unfamiliar forms.

Dr. Zernov's book is another remarkable work on the Reunion of Christendom from the Orthodox point of view. The author tries to break the deadlock caused by the preoccupation with particular theological issues which has characterised the discussions of the past twenty years, and to move into a freer sphere where reconciliation becomes possible. His main thesis is that we shall get closer to our goal in considering the purpose of the Church as a dynamic society than in becoming too involved in debate upon the structure of the Church as a static society. The Church is not simply the means of transit for a given number of souls from this life to the eternal world, but the place of covenant between the living God and free and responsible men called to dedicate themselves to the task of transferring earthly life into the Kingdom of the Holy Spirit. Unity in diversity characterises the Church no less than the whole order of creation. Our task is not so much reunion (for the Church has always been and will always remain One) as reconciliation. Here Dr. Zernov considers the spiritual factors involved in the search for reintegration and finds the great means of healing in the Holy Eucharist.

If this is to play its full part, the problem of Intercommunion must be urgently faced. Here Dr. Zernov has an interesting and to many a novel suggestion. He defines Intercommunion as a bilateral agreement between Churches at present divided with the object of promoting organic unity. This differs radically from the conception of Intercommunion as open communion indulged in on the initiative of private individuals without any official backing for their action. It should be preceded by an act of authorisation by the responsible sacramental officers of the two Churches concerned and accompanied by an act of penitence in preparation for their action. If this involves an abandonment of what for many is a firmly held conviction that Intercommunion must be the goal of our efforts, it is free from the charge of ignoring lawful authority which is often (and justifiably) raised against other proposals.

Dr. Zernov pleads for the recognition of Orthodoxy as the bridge Church and calls upon Anglicans to make a determined and positive démarche towards unity with the Orthodox. He rightly dismisses the interpretation of the duty of the Anglican Church as an attempt to promote corporate submission to Rome; it is less certain that he is right in dismissing the primary task of the Anglican Church to act as a leavening and cementing influence in corporate reunion with some at least of the Protestant Churches. From the Anglican side there are real difficulties about the policy which he suggests—the political, that such action would involve the whole gamut of independent Orthodox Churches, half of whom are in Eastern Europe—the ecclesiastical that not all Orthodox leaders are as liberal or as ecumenically minded as Dr. Zernov himself, and the liturgical and doctrinal that there are elements in Orthodoxy which the majority of Anglicans would find at least difficult. Among these are what he calls the "sacramental" materialism of much orthodox practice which many would think to be carried to disproportionate lengths and the position of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints which is not only strange to the Anglican ethos but would seem to many to imperil the doctrine of the Incarnation itself.

Many aspects of this book contain surprising and refreshing features. The stress on Covenant, the insistence upon the small units of worshipping communities, the refusal to accept theological differences as final, the protest against negative judgments about each others sacraments, the proposal about Intercommunion itself all would more naturally be associated with other Christian dominations than Orthodoxy.

Some may feel that Dr. Zernov has not dealt quite fairly with theology in this book. It might be replied with some justice that others seem incapable of treating seriously anything else! There is at best a careless piece of drafting on page 111. It is just possible (though I should not have thought probable) that Hosius of Cordoba drafted the Creed of Nicaea, he certainly did not, as the passage may possibly be interpreted, invent the Homoousion. This occurs among the Gnostics, possibly on both sides in the dispute about Paul of Samosata and in the Dialogue *de recta fide* all before the Council of Nicaea.

H. E. W. TURNER.

THE ATONEMENT IN PATRISTIC THOUGHT

THE PATRISTIC DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION. By H. E. W. TURNER. A. R. Mowbray. 12s. 6d.

THIS valuable little book consists of a series of lectures on a subject which, as the author rightly reminds us, has not received the attention which it deserves.

Patristic thought on the Atonement is not clear-cut, nor is it easy to interpret in a form sufficiently definite for the student who looks for a succinct account of what the Fathers said on that topic. It does not lend itself, like the doctrine of the Trinity, to neat formulations and convenient chronological schemes. Professor Turner's introduction, a most useful part of his book, sets out with excellent insight the main reasons why this should be the case, although even he falls a victim at times to the temptation to sort out the opinions of the Fathers into neatly arranged compartments. He explains that the apologetic needs of the early Church necessitated the formulation of Trinitarian doctrine and Christology as the answer to contemporary objectors and inquirers (is it then always true that the preaching of the Cross, in a rationally justifiable fashion, must take a secondary place, logically, or temporarily, in Christian apologetic?); so that in respect of the Atonement the Church *lex credendi* lagged behind its *lex orandi*. The Fathers made relatively little attempt to determine the decisive moment in the redemptive act of Christ which is represented by the entire economy of the Incarnation, and the development of their thought was profoundly affected by two factors to which Professor Turner rightly allows full weight—the relative eclipse of Paulinism during this period, and the decline, or transmutation, of primitive eschatology. A further factor, which might have been more fully emphasised, is the Patristic method of exegesis, and the consequent difficulty which these writers experienced in drawing out a coherent and systematic doctrine from the bewildering variety of images, metaphors, and types in which the Scriptural teaching on the significance of the death of Christ was presented to them.

The Patristic teaching is summed up under the four main heads of " Christ the Illuminator ", " Christ the Victor ", " Christ the Giver of Incorruption and Deification ", and " Christ the Victim ". These headings are evidence in themselves of the great merit of this book. The Fathers are allowed to speak for themselves. Their writings are not excerpted in order to provide a catena of proof-texts for a modern theologian's favourite dogma; on the contrary the great variety of patristic thought on the Atonement is frankly recognised, and this book should serve as a useful corrective to the popular view, fostered by Bishop Aulén, that the *Christus Victor* theorv alone merits the epithet " classical ", as well as to the less fashionable tendency of Dean Rashdall to make the Fathers serve the exclusive interest of an Abelardian doctrine.

Professor Turner accords full and generous recogntion to the work of both Aulén and Rashdall, but his own picture of the

Fathers' theology of the Atonement is far more convincing than theirs, because it is more complex and less clear-cut. It allows full weight to the vitally important Patristic concept of deification, which, as the author rightly observes, is at least as important in this period as that of *Christus Victor*. More might well have been said on the relation of ths theory to sacramental doctrine, and on the extent to which "deification" may be regarded as simply equivalent to "making immortal". The vital proof-text for this theory, Ps. lxxxii, 6, is only mentioned incidentally; it is, however, probably as important for Patristic thought on this subject as the Fathers' philosophical presuppositions.

A very clear and well-illustrated exposition is given of the conception of Christ as the revealer of the way of salvation, a doctrine stated with particular force by the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and Clement. How far it is to be regarded as the real heart of these writers' thought on the subject is not wholly clear. The Apostolic Fathers touch on the doctrine only incidentally, and the Apologists and Clement are alike engaged in commending the Faith to outsiders. Theological writing intended for external consumption may not necessarily reflect the deeper private thinking of its authors.

The theory of Christ's victory over evil powers, and the related doctrines of "recapitulation" and of the ransom to the devil, are well stated and expounded with fairness and a real understanding of the historical situation in which they were formulated. It is good to see that the elements of this theory, and of the "deification" doctrine, which are found in Western authors are fully emphasized. Too often an artificial distinction has been drawn between the "mystical" thought of the East and the "juridical" approach of the West as though there had been no interpenetration of the two. At the same time, the characteristic Western doctrine of "Christ the Victim" is well set out. On the whole, however, the book devotes much more attenion to the Greek than to the Latin Fathers.

It is, of course, impossible to deal with the doctrine of Redemption in isolation from Christology or, indeed, from Christian theology as a whole. Perhaps this is one of the chief reasons for its comparative neglect in the past. Professor Turner himself raises many interesting Christological points in passing. It is to be hoped that his study may at some time be set in the context of a fuller discussion both of these matters and also (perhaps a more pressing need) in relation to the doctrine of the application of the saving work of Christ to the believer, that is, to the patristic doctrines of justification and the sacraments.

G. W. H. LAMPE.

APOLOGETIC AT ITS BEST

THE HOPE OF GLORY. THE ATONEMENT IN OUR TIME. By MARTIN JARRETT-KERR, C.R. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

HERE is a book which, while modestly disclaiming originality, pursues an ancient inquiry in a fresh context.

Fr. Jarrett-Kerr sallies forth to meet the psychologists and existentialists on their own ground. A wealth of European authors, well-known and lesser known, are laid under contribution, and the book goes far to show that their arguments point to Christian conclusions. Add to this a style limpid and sparkling and we have apologetic at its best.

This discussion starts from the universal sense of alienation, or guilt. " Sociologists have their own ways of accounting for this." The existentialist seeks the root of the trouble within the self; the communist in the tension between the self and the herd; the Christian sees that the ultimate cause lies deeper—in the soul's estrangement from God. Man feels that he belongs not only to time but to eternity; and if guilt is one alien in his midst, mortality is another. "Our life is a false nature; it is not in the harmony of things," if one may quote Byron. Our author pictures us as having emerged from the animal state, but not yet at ease in the spiritual dimension, and shows ably that no non-religious solution can resolve this religious dilemma. The answer must come from God, but can God intervene without violence to his own Nature? The problem of the Impassibility of God is examined afresh, and the conclusion reached that we can only know what God is by observing what He does. His acts show that he loves us (though he need not) and that is that—a conclusion which even the un-theological will scarce forbear to cheer. The opposites in God's nature are reconciled " in the undisturbed unity of His Glory " (*sic.*). But how does God respond? The writer dismisses the entire " Exemplarist " school of theologians on the ground that " moral suasion " of any sort is " aggressive " and therefore out of court. Christ becomes Incarnate in order to re-make man, and re-unite him with God. This is the At-one-ment. The difficulty about the two natures in Christ is eased when we recognise that in becoming one of us, He does not supplant human personality but completes it. He alone can perfect the personality, for he alone *is* perfect personality. Finally in the Mass we are bidden to find the royal way in which the At-one-ment is actualised in us throughout the ages.

Much of this is fresh, and all of it vital. But it would seem a weakness in the book that in the discussion on personality, and the relation of organism to identity, organism runs away with all the evidence; the plea that Identity is " something more " is made to insight only. Perhaps there is no other way; in any case this would not invalidate it. Similarly in the Messianic controversy sceptics will hardly agree that the Voice of Jesus is that of *Deus contra mundum,* rather than that of one teacher versus the rest.

Next, from the theological angle, the castigated " Exemplarists " will not recognise their view of the Atonement in Denny's parody of it. A man " jumping off the pier to show his love for me " is one thing. The anguish of God revealed in the face of Jesus Christ is quite another. If this is " moral aggression " Christ should not have " turned and looked upon Peter ", nor further outraged him by being crucified. But has not Fr. Jarrett-Kerr missed here a point of value to his own argument? Is not shock therapy one of the most potent weapons in the treatment of insanity? And are we using it enough in our ministries to rouse people from the moribundity of our time? Again, while " crude satisfaction theories of the Mass " are very properly dismissed, we are left wondering whether Recompense enters into our author's picture of At-one-ment at all. The book is sub-entitled " The Atonement in our time ". But when asked " how present the doctrine *to* our time " it offers us the analogy of the ditched motor-car which needs extra power to get it going again. In amplification of this we are referred to Dr. H. W. Clark (who sees Christ's Incarnation and Sacrifice as necessary to release the dynamic of the Spirit) and to Dr. O. C. Quick's fine exposition of the transmutation of penal into redemptive suffering. Could not the difficulty have been met, within the scope of the book, another way? If original sin is self-will, then it seems axiomatic that the only way in which it can be recompensed and man brought home to God is by an age-long " reverse " process of self-giving, inspired, perfected and forever availing through Christ. His Cross is the visible Apex of the process, but it extends backward to the foundation of the earth, and forward to the end of time. It is complete in itself, yet incomplete till all our self-offerings are incorporated and perfected in His.

Finally Protestants must protest that Nonconformity has its saints no less than Rome; the Mass therefore is not the only way in which the Atonement is actualised in us. Yet in the enlightened way in which the Mass is expounded by Fr. Jarrett-Kerr even a Protestant will find in it much for which to be grateful. We look forward to further fruits from his pen.

G. W. C. THOMAS.

THE APOSTOLATE

APOSTLESHIP. By K. H. RENGSTORF. Translated and edited by J. R. COATES. A. and C. Black. 7s. 6d.

THIS translation of Professor Rengstorf's deservedly famous article forms the sixth of a series taken from Kittel's Theologische Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament. The author offers a full treatment of the lexicography of the word in both Greek and Hebrew sources and a careful critical review of the New Testament evidence. The treatment of the Hebrew word *shaliach* is especially good, though the aspects of the evidence which the contributors to the work " The Apostolic Ministry " found of such significance are scarcely mentioned. It will be found especially useful by those who are interested in problems of Church Unity though Professor Rengstorf himself shows a wise reserve in not attempting to apply his results directly to this field. In his view the Apostolate is primarily a commission rather than an order, and the means whereby this commission became, as many think, embodied in " Divers Orders of Ministry " in the Church lies outside the scope of his inquiry. Those who are concerned to defend or to attack some inrerpretations of the Apostolicity of the Church would be well advised to consider carefully again the evidence collected and discussed in this brief but important essay.

H. E. W. TURNER.

A NEW REVISION

THE HOLY BIBLE. Revised Standard Version. Thomas Nelson. 30s.

SINCE some 70 years ago, when the first English Revised Reversion of the Old and New Testaments were published, several translations, in whole or in part—English, American and Jewish—have appeared, some by one person, others by more than one translator. From America there are the Chicago University Bible edited by Powis Smith (1935), The Holy Scriptures (Old Testament only) commonly known as the American Jewish Translation (1917), both excellent in their way, and from England there are Moffatt's, Knox's, and Hooke's excellent Basic English Edition, and now we have the completion of the American Revised Standard Version, published in England by Nelson's at 30s. As the New Testament has been before the public for the last five or six years this notice will deal only with the Old Testament. A few alterations have been made in the New Testament in order to be consistent over identical words some of which in the 1946 edition being translated with different English words.

This book is a Revision of the American Standard Version first published in 1901; it is sponsored by the American Standard Bible Committee of 31 Biblical scholars, appointed by the International Council of Religious Education, under the chairmanship of Dr. Luther A. Weigle on behalf of 40 Protestant Denominations. This 1901 edition was really a revision of our Authorised Version of 1611, which was a revision of Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions, which are the basis of so many other translations. This new version, then, is not, and does not pretend to be a new translation; it keeps as closely as possible to the diction of King James's Bible and translates into modern English only such words which have become obsolete or have changed their meanings in the course of centuries. These have been modernised, thus Esau becomes a " skilful " not a " crafty " hunter (Gen. xxv, 27) and Leah's eyes were " weak " not " tender " (xxix, 17). It corrects also mistranslations of words which are obviously wrong: in short, to borrow from the preface to the Authorised Version, they " have not thought to make a new translation . . . but to make a good one better." In the Original Standard Version of 1901 the word " Jehovah " (or Yahveh) was always used instead of *" the Lord,"* but, wisely, in the New Standard Version the committee has reverted to the A.V. translation, even in the only four places where the name " Jehovah " is transliterated in A.V.

There is little in the text of the book to betray its American origin. We may come across " sceptre " spelt scepter, " labour " labor and so on, but no " thru " and soap is not, of course, spelt " sope ", nor " osprey " ospray, as in A.V. " You " is substituted for " thou " and " thee " except when *the Lord* is the subject of the verb, an exception which saves any criticism on the change, which is hardly noticeable.

An excellent feature introduced into this edition is the accentuation of proper names with more than two syllables; another is that all quotations are enclosed by inverted commas. Like the R.V. the text is divided into paragraphs, and poetry is printed as such, but does not always coincide with the R.V., for instance before Lamech's boastful quatrain, R.S.V. prints two passages as poetry—Adam's soliloquy when he awoke from his deep sleep and found an help meet for him, or as this Version puts it, " a helper fit for him "; and Jehovah's curse on the serpent, the woman and Adam. At the other end of the Old Testament R.V. has no poetry after Habakkuk, while R.S.V. gives the whole of Zephaniah as poetry and about a quarter of Zechariah.

The format of the book leaves nothing to be desired. It is well bound, opens easily, is well printed in good type on thin oqaque paper, with the chapters and the first verse of each paragraph sufficiently clear to be readily seen. The Old Testament takes up three pages short of 1,000 and the New Testament all but 300 pages.

This translation would surely please the Irish Bishop William Newcome, who in his suggestions, written in the year 1792. advocated and proposed means of executing a revision of the Authorised Version and ended his arguments by assuming that such a new and simple mode of instruction and pleasure would enable Christian readers to understand their Bible better. One of his Rules for conducting a new Version of the Bible was that the same original word should be translated by the same corresponding English word except where there may be ambiguity. "When an English word," he says, "suits every place it should be invariably used." Hugh Broughton, a Rabbinical Scholar who published his own set of Rules for translating the Bible from the Original in 1597 expressed the same views, in the hope that the translators of the A.V. would adopt them. So too Dr. Taylor with the proviso "unless a variation is necessary to make sense".

Uniformity, however, is impossible when translating from one language into another, especially if one remembers that a Hebrew could pass from one shade of meaning to another in a way which is extremely baffling to the modern translator, for as the late Professor Kennett once said: "Between Hebrew and Western thought there is at least as much difference as between a Gothic Cathedral and a Greek temple". Very simple examples are such words as *ruach* which may mean "spirit" or "wind" according to the context and *dabher* "word" or "matter" or "thing".

It must be admitted that the A.V. is very capricious in the way it translates the same Hebrew word by a dozen or more English ones, such as "come" and "go." The R.S.V. is more careful especially over the numerous different Hebrew words for the occult, discarding the English words "witch," "Observer of Times," "Prognosticator," and adding "medium" and "augur," and also in the case of animals and trees where A.V. so often goes wrong, the R.S.V. will be generally found more reliable, e.g. "adder" and "asp," birds of prey, "fox" and "jackal," "speckled bird" for "hyena," "spider" for "lizard," "unicorn" (R.V. "wild ox") and so on. In the vegetable world reference may be made to "acacia," "shittim," "cockle" and "foul weeds." In Job xxx however, R.S.V. follows A.V. "mallows" rather than R.V. "saltwort," "thistles," "thorns," "briars," and "brambles" and so on, are other examples of A.V.'s inconsistencies.

On the whole the R.S.V. has tried valiantly to be more consistent than the A.V. in keeping, as often as possible, to the same English word for the same Hebrew one. Uniformity in this respect is quite impossible in translating a language like Hebrew where one word may have many different shades of meaning from and to which a Jew, can easily and quickly adapt himself. But where the Hebrew has the same word in the same or next verse they should both surely be translated by the same English word, why; therefore, should R.S.V. follow the bad example of A.V. and translate the same Hebrew word in Ps. cxxviii, 1 and 2 "blessed" in the first verse and "happy" in the second? There are very few, if any, places in the O.T. where the word *'ash'rey* should not be translated "happy" in order to distinguish it from *barak* "blessed". Then again take the word *'amal,* which A.V. translates by 14 different words, and the R.S.V. uses at least 7. In Job. iv, 8, for instance, when A.V. has " wickedness " R.S.V. has " trouble ", and in Hab. i. 13 where the A.V. has " iniquity " R.S.V. has " wrong ", A.V. has " toil " in Gen. xli, 51 but R.S.V. " hardship " there and " toil " in Ps. cv, 44 where A.V. has " labour." Other English equivalent words used by R.S.V. are " misery," " mischief " and " travail " and, may be, others; but this it not a serious objection and the A.V. translators admittedly did not attempt to overcome it, for says Miles Smith, the writer of its preface in a rather lame apology: " Why should we be in bondage to words," but this was probably a sly dig at Broughton.

In the interests of clarity it is sometimes necessary to jettison old familiar phrases which find their way into Dictionaries of Quotations, such as " Stay me with flagons " (Cant. ii, 5) and substitute, as R.S.V. does, " Sustain me with raisins " or the sentence in the Burial Service from Job. and read " without my flesh I shall see God, whom I shall see on my side ". On the other hand it is a pity to perpetuate a misquoted passage. In Job. xix, 10 the English Versions both have quite correctly, according to the Massoretic text, " *with* the skin of my teeth " though more often than not it is misquoted " *by* the skin of my teeth ". A Hebrew accustomed to hyperbole, would at once understand the similarity between God's affliction of Job and a man robbed of everything—even to the teeth in his mouth, leaving only the gums. On the other hand we must be grateful to the R.S.V. for correcting the punctuation in Is. xl, 3 and hope that those who read this lesson in Church will note that the comma should come after " The voice of him that crieth " (or " A voice cries ") not after " wilderness," which spoils the parallelism. In the four gospels however, the comma is misplaced in R.S.V.

The A.V. is very unreliable in its translations of the names of animals, trees, and so on, e.g. it mixes up in Lev. xix, Dt. xviii and Is. xlvii and elsewhere such words as Charmer, Diviner, Enchanter, Observer, Soothsayer, Sorcerer and Witch. There may not be much difference in the meanings of these words or of " Astrologer," " Familiar Spirit," " Magician " and "Wizard," but with a little method it would be easy and certainly less confusing instead of translating one Hebrew word by three different English ones, and two Hebrew words " Soothsayer " and another word by both " Sorcerer " and " Witch," to have been more consistent. By discarding " Witch " and " Familiar Spirit," " Consulter," " Prognisticator," " Observer of Times " and introducing " auger " and " medium " it simplifies matters and reduces occult nomenclature to reasonable terms. It is here and in the names of trees and animals apart from the different sorts of, say, lions and locusts that the R.S.V. is more helpful (though even so not always absolutely consistent).

In Job xviii, 8-10 where six different kinds of gins or traps are mentioned R.S.V. rightly corects the A.V. " robber " into " snare ", and the A.V. " snare " into " rope " (though " noose " would have been better) but used the English word " trap " to translate the two different words which A.V. translates " gin " and " trap." In this case it would have been better to follow the A.V. as A.J.T. has.

The A.V. translation in Pr. xvii, 14 and xx, 3 " meddle " and " intermeddle " in xviii, 1 of *gala* is most unsuitable. The Hebrew really means to " lay bare " and in Arabic to " show the teeth." as Cheyne translated it, i.e. to " snarl " (so A.J.T.). The R.V. " quarrel " in Pr. xvii, 14 is nearer the mark, but R.S.V. in xviii, 1 " break out against " and in xvii, 14 and xx, 3 " quarrel ". In xxvi, 17 R.S.V. translates another different Hebrew word, as A.V. does, " meddle ".

It would have been easy, and perhaps tempting, to make use of ultra modern English phrases for some of the Hebrew idioms, such as: " Got the wind up " for " His spirit was troubled " Gen. xli, 8; " I thought of taking to drink " for " I searched with my mind how to cheer my body with wine " Ecc. ii, 3; " Rubbed it in " for " taught them diligently " Deut. vi, 7; " Make yourself scarce " for " let your foot be seldom in your neighbour's house " Pr. xxv, 17. For the A.V. word " adventured " in Jud. ix, 17 where the literal translation is " cast away his soul at a distance " R.S.V. has, " risked his life " which is a very proper and legitimate paraphrase of the Hebrew idiom, and in I Sam. xxx, 12, while the English versions have "his spirit came to him again" R.S.V. translates "revived," in I Kings x, 5 it follows the English verson " there was no more spirit in her " which sounds as though she had almost fainted, while " lost in amazement " would probably convey a better idea of the Queen of Sheba's feelings to a 20th century reader, and again in Gen. xiv, 22 the R.S.V. " I have sworn to the Lord " is much more intelligible to the English reader, who is not acquainted with Hebrew customs, than the A.V. literal translation " I have lift up my hand unto the Lord," though the word " swear " is not in the Received Text.

It would be easy to go on giving many more examples of R.S.V.'s superior interpretations of words and phrases in the Holy Scriptures, but there is space for only a few others. In Is. vii, 14 for " virgin " we have to read " young woman " though we are given the alternative in a foot-note of " virgin ," since the Hebrew may mean either. It is *'almah*, which means an adult young woman —either a virgin or one recently married, whereas *bethulah* (which occurs 50 times in O.T.) is always translated " virgin " (except 5 times) by R.S.V. Of course a virgin is a young woman, but a young woman is not of necessity a virgin, and in English " maid " or " maiden " presupposes an unmarried girl.

Of the many idioms connected with the face, one or two examples need only be given of better paraphrases in R.S.V. e.g Is.

xxviii, 25 " levelled its surface " instead of " made plain the face thereof "; II Chr. vi, 3 "faced about " instead of " turned his face "; I Kings ii, 15 " set their faces on me " in I Kings ii, 16 " do not turn away my face " is " do not refuse me "; " fully expected me "; and in II Sam. ii, 22 R.S.V. has " lift up (instead of hold up) my face to your brother "—but surely the obvious equivalent in an English idiom would be "look your brother in the face? "

Instead of " to the Chief Musician " in the headings of so many Psalms R.S.V. has " to the Choir Master," Good examples of improvements on A.V. are to be found in I Sam. xiii, 5-11 where " gathered themselves together " (*'asaph*) is altered to " were mustered " (though not always elsewhere) I Sam. xvii, 21 " put the battle in array " to " drew up for battle "; II Sam. x, 9 " chose out of all the choice of Israel ", " chose picked men " and I Chr. xix, 13 " let us behave ourselves valiantly," " play the man."

The footnotes, like those in our Variorum Teacher's Bible, enlighten many an obscure passage; where the Received text does not admit of any translation that makes sense, but where two translations are possible and this Version does not follow the R.T., a translation of it is given in a footnote. Otherwise the translation is based on the Received or Massoretic but not always vocalised text and follows as closely as possible the rhythm and cadence of A.V.

The few examples given in this notice will, it is hoped, encourage the reader to become possessed of the book and to study it together with the Authorised or Revised Version, and, if he has a little knowledge of the three languages in which the Bible was written, his enjoyment will be all the greater, if not, he can rely upon the accuracy of the translators, who also skilfully retain the incomparable beauty of our Bible English.

A. D. Power.

A NEW INDEX

A Concordance of Subjects. Compiled by Charles R. Joy. London. A. and C. Black. 25s.

This rather vague title is an anthology of texts from the Bible arranged under what the Compiler calls a " topical concordance ". The Compiler is an American minister, and the book is printed in America and the preface and headlines are spelt in American, but the texts are printed in King James's English. It is a most useful book for preachers and indeed very interesting to all lovers of literature and students of the Bible. Several of the topics, of which there are well over 2,000, are indexed under words which are not to be found in the A.V., e.g. Apostasy, Architecture, Education, Homesickness, Infallibility and Pretention beside others. Under Education "Ephraim is a cake not turned" is an excellent example of a text which might not occur to a parson who intended to preach on this subject. Homesickness is another, and it is a pity under this heading that the Compiler did not include that happy verse from Proverbs: "As cold water to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country" which is (or was) inscribed over the foreign post office in Hong Kong, and, it is said, in Hankow. "Relatives" or "Kith and Kin" are not in the headlines, but "Brotherhood" is, with cross references to "Family" and "Fellowship," as well as three other topics. "Separation" is indexed, but not "Isolation" or "Ostracism" which might quite justifiably be called topical.

In a reference book of this sort, its users are bound to find, rightly or wrongly, some omissions they would like to see included and some insertions they would not have included themselves, but that is not an adverse criticism. Opinions are bound to vary, and no book of this sort can entirely please every individual; such omissions will spur the owner of this book to make his own additions, and indeed it would be a pleasant hobby to go through every topic in the volume to see how many texts—in reason—one could add. In brief there can be nothing but praise for the result of the Compiler's industry, though it may be tinged with a little jealousy of the extremely pleasant task it must have been to undertake such a valuable and original book.

A GIFTED PRIMATE

ARCHBISHOP PECHAM. By DECIMA L. DOUIE. Pp. 362. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1952. £2 2s. 0d.

THIS excellent book is likely to remain the definitive biography of Archbishop Pecham, who held the see of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292.

John Pecham, although he endured no such spectacular martyrdom as Thomas Becket or William Laud, was in some ways one of the most tragic figures among English archbishops. He lived at a time when the church was, on the whole, strong and respected, and he himself achieved much, yet in his last years he might almost have said, as did Gregory VII "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile," for although he died among all the material splendours appropriate to the household of a Primate of All England, respected by the king, and feared if not loved by his suffragan bishops, he died a lonely, bitter man, exiled from all those things which seem really to have touched his heart, the simplicity of his life as a Franciscan, the vivid intellectual activity of his days as a master in the university, and the relief which he, like many followers of S. Francis, could find in expressing his love of God through the medium of poetry. He was an ascetic, a scholar of no small ability and a poet, in addition to being an archbishop with a considerable gift for administration and a statesman who could, on occasion, assert himself against one of the most vigorous of English kings. Why, then, did he fail in so many of the tasks to which he set himself with the best of intentions and with a truly remarkable vigour?

In many ways he was an unusually gifted man. As a philosopher, although he did not stand quite in the front rank, he combined a formidable degree of learning with a passionate determination to disprove what appeared to him to be the dangerous conclusions of the Thomists. As a primate he showed his grasp of the problems of church administration in matters ranging from the prohibition of pluralism to checking the enthusiasm of parents who wanted to bestow " frivolous and unsuitable " names upon their daughters (a matter in which modern clerics might well follow his example.) He carried out in most difficult circumstances a thorough visitation of his whole province, including even the Welsh dioceses, full as they were of the aftermath of Edward I's wars in the shape of marauding bands and burned-out churches. Although a friar, whose desire seems always to have been to renounce the worldly glory thrust upon him by his office and to " die among his brethren," he succeeded in carrying out a thorough reorganisation of the finances of his church and in making, by the agreement over the writ " Circumspecte Agatis," a satisfactory arrangement with the king over the question of ecclesiastical jursidiction. Nevertheless, as archbishop he was unhappy and unloved, a man for whom, as Miss Douie says, " litigation was perhaps the only luxury."

His many virtues, she suggests, were offset by an unusual capacity for antagonsing the people with whom he had to work. His energy and devotion did not win the support of his suffragans, many of whom were men like-minded with himself, because in his dealings with them he seemed to be incapable either of tact or of good-humour. He tackled the thorny problems presented by his cathedral priory at Canterbury with patience and persistence, yet he was generally on very bad terms with that community. His sincere desire to mediate between Edward I and Llewellyn of Wales came to nothing because he was completely incapable of understanding the Welsh point of view, and even his attempts to regulate he discipline of a small community such as Merton College seem to have shown signs that he was unable to induce the warden and fellows to settle down peaceably together. It is not surprising that n his last years he seems to have been suffering from some form of nervous breakdown, the inevitable fruit, as his biographer shows, of " the long years of lonely grandeur, unceasing and unrewarding oil, and partial frustration at Canterbury."

Miss Douie's book is, as might be expected, a work of unusually sound and thorough scholarship, admirably documented and indexed. It is also, unlike many such books, extremely readable, except in a few passages where the author is struggling with the difficult task of expressing the ideas of medieval philosophers (who had the advantage of thinking in Latin, a language which is remarkable for precision and clarity), in modern English, a language which is probably an adequate tool for the trained philosopher, but one which tends to convey to the ordinary reader " no light, but rather darkness visible." The reader who has already some acquaintance with the subject of medieval church administration will, naturally, derive more enjoyment and profit from this book than one who has no knowledge of the period; the problems involved are complex and Miss Douie, rightly, does not set out to impart elementary information. Yet I do not think that the work should be recommended only to trained historians. It is a sympathetic and lively study of a man who nearly achieved greatness. Miss Douie has a profound knowledge of one of the most interesting and formative periods of English history, and her interpretation of Pecham's life and of the society in which he lived is humane, sensitive, and at times very witty. In fact, this is a book not only to be studied but also to be enjoyed.

ROSALIND HILL.

FRANCISCANS AT CAMBRIDGE

THE GREY FRIARS IN CAMBRIDGE, 1225-1538. By J. R. H. MOORMAN. Cambridge University Press. 35s.

THE Franciscans have a double interest for students of the Church in medieval England. In the first place they represented the impact of a new ideal of service combined with sacrifice, work by the poor among the poor. They also early recognised that pastoral work to be valuable must be informed and they added to the single-minded idealism of their founder the learning and wisdom of the Schools. It was natural, therefore, that the band of missionary friars who reached England in September 1224 should make for the two universities, where they might obtain suitably qualified recruits. The story of their work at Oxford was told over half a century ago by A. G. Little, but the equally interesting three centuries of the Franciscans in Cambridge have, until Dr. Moorman took up his pen, been largely neglected. This indeed, in a sense, is a part of the strange failure of Cambridge historians to give to the world an adequate history of their own university. For the middle ages we still rely on the very inadequate work of Mullinger, now approaching its centenary, and upon the careful but uninspiring compilations of the nineteenth-century Town Clerk, Cooper.

The Mendicant system of education for its own members, wherein the greater convents such as Norwich and Cambridge (between which a little healthy rivalry developed) were required to find lectors whose constant instruction should be available to all novices and others needing it, was admirable. The Cambridge Custody flourished most in the fourteenth century when the friars had obtained reasonable accommodation and had come to an arrangement with the University about preaching and admission to degrees. The Cambridge friars also played an important part in combating the Oxonian Wyclifite heresy.

The second part of Dr. Moorman's book (the first part being the substance of his Birkbeck lectures) consists of short biographies of such Cambridge Franciscans as have yet been identified. In this piece of pioneer work, which adds valuably to Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* there are necessarily gaps and omissions and part of its value will be to supply a convenient basis for further research which will have to be of a rather detailed nature. When dealing with the buildings, whether of the conduit which now supplies the fountain in Trinity Great Court with its water, or of the structures which stand on the site of Sidney Sussex College, one wall of which alone substantially remains, the narrative is as complete as can reasonably be expected.

When the Dissolution came the Cambridge Friary seems to have been prepared for it; several of the twenty-four members obtained benefices, others such as Thomas Traheron and William Roy had already joined the ranks of the Reformers. About them all Dr. Moorman writes with the accomplished accuracy and balanced judgement that we have learnt to expect from him. It will be long before another study of the mendicant contribution to the Cambridge School of Theology becomes necessary and if later investigators may be more impressed with the special activities there of Norfolk men than Dr. Moorman seems to have been, they will rely in confidence upon this notable contribution to the history of scholarship and of piety.

George Richard Potter.

DR. BULTMANN'S VIEWS

Myth in the New Testament. By Ian Henderson. S.C.M. Press. 7s.

This book is important both by reason of the issues with which it deals, and the competence of its treatment. It is concerned with Bultmann's thesis that, if the Gospel is to be preached intelligently and convincingly to the present age, the New Testament must be demythologised. The discussion therefore is essentially related to evangelism, the Church's prime duty. In the second place Bultmann is aiming at a rapprochement between religion and philosophy; and that for him means the existentialist philosophy with its emphasis on decision.

He is wholly right in seeing that Christianity always exists in a vital relation to the thought of every age from the apostolic to our own, and that men cannot be expected to decide about something they cannot understand. The Kerygma must therefore be extricated from a mythology completely unacceptable to men of a scientific age. But, is this mythology *rightly* rejected? Has Bultmann gone the right way to secure an alliance between philosophy and Christian preaching? These questions are discussed by Mr. Henderson both lucidly and judiciously.

He scrutinizes carefully what Bultmann means by " myth ", finding little fault with the description of " myth " as " putting forward the spiritual as if it were material ", but pointing out that Bultmann includes under the heading " mythical " a surprisingly miscellaneous collection, e.g., demons, and all the ideas about sin and redemption consequent on belief in them; the pre-existence and the resurrection of Jesus. In regard to Eschatology a natural preference is shown for " realised Eschatology."

Mr. Henderson well shows how heterogeneous is this collection; and many readers will want to press his criticisms much further. In particular he demonstrates that along this line Bultmann will be precluded from doing justice to the historical element in the Christian faith.

Again Bultmann insists that myth must be interpreted existentially, i.e., as revealing, not the nature of a real objective world, but the narrator's understanding of his own existence. This fundamental assumption Bultmann takes over without argument from Heidegger, and proceeds to draw the corollary that redemption means the revealing to man of his real status as a child of God. The divine action upon man is confined to remoulding his self-consciousness. Whilst we are all eager to learn just how God acts upon the soul, and are aware that much in the New Testament is hard to understand, yet we are very sure that the New Testament and the saints unite in testimony that the change wrought by God in salvation is wider and more radical than Bultmann will admit. The arena of redemption is the universe not the individual soul alone: and we cannot lightly dismiss the hostile principalities and powers as figments of the imagination.

Again, writers of myths believed they were speaking of a real objective world; and a man must be interpreted according to his intention. Myth turns the thought outward not inward; and man's salvation is furthered by teaching him to "lose himself " in a realm that is real. If salvation were concerned only with self-consciousness, the moral ideal would be a self-realisation circumscribed by selfishness; and the follower of Bultmann might easily fall into this error.

Myth is a valid category of human thought. There are realities that can be expressed in no other way; for we are creatures of time and space, deriving our language from sense-perception, and it is futile to try to escape from these limitations. Bultmann need not be so scornful of the conception of a " three decker universe, the underworld, our earth, and heaven above." Transcendence can only be set forth in spatial terms; and we are well enough acquainted with a moral connotation imparted to words like " higher " and "lower."

As Mr. Henderson trenchantly points out, the "offence" to modern man is not the mythical but the transcendent. Germans easily swallowed myths about Hitler, blood and soil, and Nordic man. These left out the transcendent. Our problem is to restore to men the sense of the transcendent.

One of Mr. Henderson's most telling criticisms is that Bultmann wants to substitute the interpretation of a myth for the myth itself; much as if we could dispense with a drama of Shakespeare's once we had satisfactorily interpreted the play into our own way of thinking. Likewise his theories would logically lead to discarding the New Testament once we had interpreted its message. This cannot be: Christianity is rooted in history, and that history is recorded in the New Testament. The Resurrection has significance as a unique historical event as well as being the mode of a present action of Christ upon the souls of men. The victory won on the first Easter morn is one into which we enter as living participants; something in which we share as accomplished fact rather than something repeated anew for and in each individual.

Myth is not the category under which to subsume the Resurrection: nor will the doctrine of the Spirit lend itself any better to such treatment. The biblical conception of the *Ruach* of God is not mythical. It may be true, as Bultmann insists, that it is a quasi-physical conception. But then we are spirit and flesh: and the Spirit's work has to deal with the whole of us. Our bodies are His temple. His activity in dealing with our nature in its wholeness of necessity has as one element a quasi-physical aspect. Understanding of the functioning of Creative Spirit in the medium of created beings and matter is not furthered by calling the Christian doctrine mythical.

As will be seen Bultmann has raised tremendous issues concerning the interrelations of God and man. They have been discussed in Germany in *Kerygma und Mythos*, a volume of Essays by various writers, in which Bultmann's holds pride of place. The debate will continue, and Mr. Henderson has earned our gratitude by his contribution.

C. J. BARKER.

THE DIVINE SUMMONS

RECEIVE THE JOYFULNESS OF YOUR GLORY. By MAISIE SPENS.
London, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd. 1952, 15s.

"AND when he came to himself," St. Luke records of the Prodigal Son, " he said . . . I will arise and go to my father . . . " Such is the beginning of the long journey home, for all who hear the Father's invitation: " *Receive the Joyfulness of Your Glory* ". This invitation, " the divine *summons* to deification issued to us corporately, to each individually " is echoed by Miss Spens in her profoundly prayerful study of the way home to the Father's eternal dwelling place.

Unlike the Prodigal, most of us neither recognise that we are in a " far country " nor that we have wasted our substance " with riotous living ". Familiarity with the dreary, noisy, tragic and humanly insoluble crises of our civilisation has dulled the sense of danger in sin, undermined the hope of ever knowing anything better here on earth, and obscured the heritage of glory for which we were created. In this context we are given the Mystery of the Transfiguration, which was entrusted to Peter, James and John to be made known only when " the Son of Man is risen from the dead ": the Mystery which, as the author justly points out, is " the least understood, generally the last to be understood, quite commonly not understood at all ". It is for the Church to appropriate the weight of glory revealed in the Transfigured and Transfiguring Christ, and for each member to be quickened in obedience to the Divine injunction: " This is My beloved Son: hear him ".

No short review can do justice to the depth of spiritual perception, the compassionate insight into the dark places of the soul and the integrity of faith with which the great themes of our redemption are illuminated in this book. It is no panacea, but a fearless laying bare of our falling short of the glory to which God has predestined us: so that, divested of all self-centred, self-seeking self-preoccupation, each of us may, in true poverty of spirit, as " a mendicant of Glory " receive God Himself.

The author confronts us with the Transfiguration as a Mystery of silence: silence as stilling of self, as wholly consecrated obedience to the Father, as the consummate union of love. It is in the sanctuary of interior silence that the Blessed Trinity abides. Here is that Transfiguration begun which is to glorify each for all and all for God. It is no *escape* from the travail under which all creation lies groaning, but, on the contrary, becomes a compelling love-identification in Our Lord with each sufferer or sinner, in penitence and adoration and expectancy for His restitution of all things to their " aboriginal " perfection. The penetrating meditation on the healing of the epileptic boy at the foot of the mount of Transfiguration, and the chapter, " And so to enter into His

Glory ", on death—to give only two examples—illustrate the book's intensely practical and relevant application of this Mystery.

To take deification seriously requires courage, not only because it is to follow faithfully the way of the Cross, but because it demands a fearless following of Truth: for us humanly, it means to be convicted of sin. It is easier for human nature to suffer blindly than to accept this conviction. Yet it is only through such acceptance in contrition that suffering and sorrow can be turned to joy. In her chapter " The Holy Treasury of Glory ", Miss Spens gives us a new understanding of original sin by lifting it from the moral-juridical category to an *ontological* plane. In " Mary the Canon of Jesus " we are shown sinlessness as this ontological perfection which was ours " in the beginning " and which is now offered to us all in Christ. Belief in the sinlessness of Our Lady is held by Roman Catholics and Orthodox alike, both attribute to her the title " immaculate ", though the Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has no comparable formulation in the Orthodox Church. To many Anglicans and Protestants the approach here may seem to present difficulties, but the author, herself an Anglican, deserves a careful hearing, for we reach in this analysis a key to the mystery of our deification.

The author concludes with a short pendant of prayer: " Rosary to the Praise of the Glory of His Silence", offered to those who will use it to penetrate the silence by which and in which the soul's homecoming is consummated in God.

The book is unusually well-produced and contains ten half-tone plates, which are a delight in themselves, selected by the author to illustrate the text. It is a book to buy, to read, to keep, and to return to again and again.

HELLE GEORGIADIS.

CHRISTIAN MONOTHEISM

THE UNITY OF GOOD: A STUDY IN CHRISTIAN MONOTHEISM. By P. HARTILL. London, Mowbrays, 1952. pp. 202. 16s. net.

THE aim of this book is clearly set forth in the author's introduction: it is " to elucidate the Christian doctrine of the Divine unity, to discuss some of the ways in which it has been normative in the development of doctrine, and to suggest further points in modern doctrinal and ethical theories where erroneous lines of thought can be checked by reference to this primary and all-important truth." What follows is a competent piece of modest theological scholarship. Mr. Hartill, who has not only spent many years ministering to the large industrial parish of Stoke-on-Trent but is also archdeacon of Stoke, is to be congratulated on setting this useful book before the reading public, and commended for setting a sound example to those clergymen who venture into print. Would there were more studies of this kind (though not necessarily of Mr. Hartill's school of thought) and fewer effusions of popular religious journalism.

This is not to say that the book is without its defects. It is not so new or profound in its ideas as one might be led to expect from its preface. It savours of a course of theological college lectures for ordinands, and rarely strikes one as containing an arrestingly original contribution to theology. Moreover, its presentation and language are conventional: not that this is a serious defect. One cannot, too, help smiling at the unconscious humour of Mr. Hartill's preface, where he thanks his teachers, guides and critics, Scott Holland, Congar, Frank Weston, Leslie Newbiggin, Dr. Hodgson, Lord Lindsay of Birker; and then he immediately adds, "Perhaps deepest of all is my debt to S. Anselm"! This juxtaposition of names is a trifle unexpected.

But, with these slight criticisms made, one is bound to emphasize the good qualities of the book. It is eminently lucid, and forms an excellent introduction to the Christian doctrine of the God, particularly with regard to its early development. After a short chapter on pre-Christian beliefs about God, in which he might have considered the probable traces of hypostasization in the Old Testament and Pseudepigrapha, Mr. Hartill devotes a fairly full chapter to the significance of the historical Jesus for theology proper.

The next section on the Logos Doctrine is a valuable exposition, and contains a lengthy but illuminating transcript from one of Scott Holland's lectures on the Logos doctrine in the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Hartill, following not a few theologians of varying tempers from Harnack to Barth, re-emphasizes the Jewish, as distinct from the Greek, basis of the Johannine doctrine, despite the evangelist's use of the term *Logos.* This corrective against Christian idealism and serious reconsideration of the more concrete thought forms of Hebrew religion has been salutary in contemporary theology. But one cannot lightly dismiss the Platonic tradition in Christian thought; and one would like something more than the usual dogmatic dismissal of Christian philosophical idealism so prevalent in modern writers. Unfortunately Mr. Hartill does not consider this fundamental matter: perhaps it would have diverted him from his main thesis.

The chapter on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is less on the work of the Spirit, and more upon the binitarian theology of the early Church alleged by some scholars, as well as upon the actual personal references to the Spirit in the New Testament. The core of the book is contained in the next four chapters on the personal relations within the Godhead, the terminology of trinitarianism, the divine atributes, and the Divine Unity. These are well presented discussions from a conservative standpoint of what are always difficult themes. Any theological student or intelligent inquiring layman wanting a clear exposition of this part of traditional Christian theology, with its now obscure Graeco-Latin vocabulary, can find it here. It is a pity, however, that not enough attention is given to the modern reverent but agnostic doubt as to whether the doctrine of the Trinity as such is a revelation of absolute truth *qua* doctrine or whether it is a human proposition which attempts and only attempts to codify alleged revelation.

The final chapters on the Atonement, the Unity of the Church, righteousness and grace, and the theory of two moralities (as in Bergson, *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion* and Lindsay, *The Two Moralities*) each indicate how basic distinctive traditional Christian monotheism is for all religious and ethical problems. Mr. Hartill, like other contemporary writers, *e.g.*, Dr. Vidler and Dr. Ramsey, has obviously found much of value in the neglected theological works of F. D. Maurice, whom he aptly quotes in his conclusion.

D. W. GUNDRY.

TEXT OF GOSPELS AND ACTS

ALTERATIONS TO THE TEXT OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND ACTS. By C. S. C. WILLIAMS. Blackwell. 13s. 6d.

THE expansion of Mr. Williams' lectures has resulted in a most scholarly work, in which the author suggests that textual critics should beware of placing too much faith in the respect of copyists for their MSS. Many of the examples quoted make it plain that reverence and prejudice held sway among all types of Christians then and now, and that "theological presuppositions affect the minds of modern writers as much as Tertullian's." This plea for unbiased judgement is prominent in the author's discussion of the texts which refer to the Virgin Birth; but as he fairly points out, evidence for the text proves only the evangelist's belief, not necessarily historical fact.

It is refreshing to find textual variants of this " doctrinal " type related to the beliefs of the historical church, since every deliberate variant must reflect something of the copyist's ecclesiastical environment. This is a healthy reminder that textual studies are not a private hobby for experts, but should be intimately connected with doctrinal history.

The book opens with a concise summary of reasons for intentional variants; here one may in passing point out that C. H. Turner's solution for Mark viii, 26 (quoted from New Commentary, p. 727) was not εν τη κωμη but μχδενι ειπης εις την κωμην, which is the c k reading given by Nestle. Only if this is original can it be classed under Alterations of Style.

Following two interesting chapters on the influence of Marcion and Tatian on the text of the Gospels, Mr. Williams passes to the main section of his work on the text of the Gospels and Acts. Here he takes a group of readings which bear on some doctrinal and reverential themes and discusses them in detail. In the first, the Virgin Birth passages, he concludes that both Matthew and Luke held this doctrine, although variants, whether modifying or accentuating, have occurred. In regard to the b variants in Lk. i, 34, ii, 5, he rightly points out that doctrinal reasons cannot be given both for anti-Virgin Birth readings here and pro-Virgin Birth ones at Lk. ii, 41 and Jn. i, 13, and alternative reasons are difficult to find for the latter.

Among other examples considered in detail, one may welcome the clear distinction, in reference to Mt. xxviii, 19 drawn between what the evangelist wrote and what used to happen in the Church. Matthew's text can thus be considered without the confusion of two questions. Could a similar distinction be maintained with the Cry of Dereliction? Mark's informant may have used Aramaic words, even though the actual cry had been in Hebrew, or vice versa. The End of Mark naturally receives detailed attention, and, *pace* Lightfoot, the author assumes that an ending was intended or actually written. But if the latter, one may doubt whether Resurrection Appearances in Galilee would be sufficient reason for deliberate mutilation; if so, why was no " better " ending put in its place? Streeter's accident theory seems more probable.

In a review of the evidence for the longer text of the Lk. xxii Supper, which Mr. Williams supports, one may note that he seems not to relate "Paul and Mark . . . as the authoritative record of the Insttiution of the Eucharist " with the fact that Lk. xxii, 19 to 20 is (except for the last four words) practically a verbal quotation from Paul. No support of the Longer Text has explained this adequately. Paul and Mark are evidence for the Eucharist itself, but the Church's practice cannot be used to support any theory of what Luke wrote.

A summary follows of the different theories of the text of Acts, and of Lagrange's classification of " Western " variants. The Western text of Acts xv, 1-5 is perhaps harshly treated; surely one may distinguish between D's confusion of Pharisees and Judaiser's and the different views of Paul's journey to Jerusalem in D and B—could not B, by reference to Galatians, have altered the text to enhance Paul? In general, Mr. Williams provides interesting comments on the reasons for Western additions, whether clarity or accuracy, and adds to Lagrange's list of justifiable Western variants some which illustrate possible errors of B through intentional alteration in a clearer way than Lagrange's own list. In a clear consideration of the notorious Acts xv, 20 decree, one would have liked to see the textual problem related to the Council as reported in Acts and Galatians. Did a Pauline partisan turn the food law into a moral law in view of Paul's rejection of all food laws?

The book, concluding with appendices on Eznik's text and on p. 8, will be of great value to all students of textual criticism, giving as it does a judicial and concise summary of critical opinions. Although, naturally, all the conclusions will not command universal acceptance, they must elicit respect for their substance and gratitude for their clear expression.

Finally in detail: on p. ix B is dated saec. v—a misprint for iv; on page 64 p. 41 is dated saec. xii-xiii, on p. xiv as saec. xi-xii as Ropes; Nestle gives viii-ix?; lastly one misses an Index of passages of Scripture considered.

HUGH GLAISYER.

THE NEED OF REFORM

GOD AT WORK. By JAMES PARKES. Putnam, 1952. 10s. 6d.

THE author of this book became widely known during the war through his volumes, published in the " Penguin " Series under the pseudonym of John Hadham, dealing with a number of current general religious problems. Dr. Parkes has also made a special study of Judaism; and in this little book he now discusses questions involving Christianity, Judaism and Scientific Humanism. This is an expansive field; and one wonders at the outset whether it should be limited to less than one hundred and eighty pages of large type. Nevertheless, there are some things well said in this book, even if as a whole it savours of a type of semi-scholarly popular religions journalism.

In his introductory chapter Dr. Parkes reiterates the well-known facts that Israel's " remarkable experience in the desert of Sinai ", " the brief but dramatic life of the son of a Galilean artisan family ", and the birth of science in the sixteenth and seventeenth century are the three foundation events of the three ideologies which he proceeds to discuss in the main part of his book—ideologies which have emphasized man's role as a member of society, as an individual and as a seeker for the truth. Yet he then explains that " because man is at once citizen, person and seeker, he can never be exclusively one of these characters. Each constantly impinges on the other." Next, in a chapter entitled " The History of Divine-Human Co-operation "—an off-putting term of modern religious jargon indeed, he surveys the Hebrew idea of covenant between God and man, and fits in the rôle of Christ, the impact of Greek and scientific thought on religion, and a short commentary on the doctrine of the Trinity. The three following chapters are devoted to " the power which flows from Sinai ", " the power which flows from Calvary ", and " the power which flows from the Indwelling Spirit." One feels all the time that one is meant to be reading something new; but in fact one finds that one is simply going over well-worn ground once again. It is, however, interesting, if one has the time, to read in Dr. Parkes's concluding chapters some of his heterodox views and personal grouses, and to be reminded yet again that God is at work in modern movements of thought. Some of the faults of the Church are exposed—as if we did not know them; and armchair remedies are presented. Dr. Parkes's idealism is commendable; but perhaps it is time that we woke up to the fact that books of this kind, however worthily conceived, do not get us very far.

The book is diffuse, and is rather oblivious of human beings and human institutions as they are. It is so easy to say what should be, as is illustrated by the rather absurd appendix. Apart from the financial and administrative difficulties, such a college as is suggested is superfluous. What are cathedral chapters for? Moreover, the Church makes little use of existing opportunites afforded at the universities: there is no point in providing more in cloistered seclusion. Such criticism is not intended to deny the sincerity of the book and its enthuiasm for reform. Omnivorous readers who have a spare half-guinea will find many a thought-provoking sentence; but even stimulation to thought is now of little avail to cure the spiritual maladies of our time. One thing, however, is outstandingly commendable, namely, Dr. Parkes's honesty in refusing to be tied down to church or party dogma, where he conscientiously sees that dogma as obscurantist. There is little doubt that institutional Christianity must seriously and painfully understand and assimilate new knowledge and ideas if it is to remain a vital force.

D. W. GUNDRY.

AN ILLUMINATING LECTURE

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW. By C. H. DODD. 21 p. The Athlone Press. 2s.

THIS is the Ethel M. Wood lecture delivered before the University of London in March, 1952, by the former Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Coming from such an authority it is bound to be enriched with profound knowledge and penetrating observation. The lecture makes one think of Professor Henton Davies's Broadcast address in 1948 " Why read the Old Testament? " in which he said " If you scrap the Old Testament you'll have to scrap a lot of the New Testament too, because you won't be able to understand it any longer." He points out how Jesus quotes in many places from O.T. and emphasises how well versed in its pages he must have been to expound while walking with a couples of disciples to Emmaus the references to himself in O.T.

Naturally a good deal of Professor Dodd's lecture is devoted to the many quotations from Is. liii, the whole of which, bar one verse, appears in different books of the N.T. Who this " Suffering Servant " was meant to be; whether an historical character or an ideal figure of the future has been and still is a question upon which neither in antiquity nor in modern times has there been any agreement. Professor Dodd also gives space to the " allegorical " method: was, for example, Paul's treatment of the story of Hagar and Ishmael in Galatians allegorical of Sinai and the Jews? He refers, too, to "echoes" as well as actual quotations from, for example, Zech. ix-xiv and Joel ii and iii. The author, however, admits that these and other examples are often obscure and complicated. Imagery to a Jew was as natural as weeds in a garden, he could hardly open his mouth without making use of some metaphor, and Professor Dodd warns his readers not to take too literally the exact meaning of apocalyptic " traits ". This notice may well close with Professor Henton Davies's last sentence in his Broadcast Address: " The New Testament is the Old Testament plus Jesus Christ."

SHORTER NOTICES

THE FOUR GOSPELS. A new Translation by E. V. RIEU. The Penguin Classics. 2s. 6d.

YET another Bible translation with an interesting 32 pages introduction. Dr. Rieu has used older and better manuscripts, especially the Codex Sinaiticus, than were available to Coverdale or Tyndale or the Committee responsible for our Authorised Version, and has taken pains to make the language as intelligible to us as the Authorised Version was to its first readers. The text is divided into chapters and paragraphs and the poems are printed as poetry; it would have made it easier for reference had the number of the A.V. verses been added in the margin, or at all events at the beginning of each paragraph. Matthew, as Dr. Rieu points out, may have misunderstood sometimes the Hebrew idiom of the Old Testament: Dr. Rieu endeavours to avoid this in his translation, if necessary, not by slavishly following the Greek but by trying to infuse into modern English its spirit.

The Spiritual Espousals. By Blessed Jan van Ruysbroek. Translated by Eric College. 196 pp. Faber. 18s.

Van Ruysbroek, born in 1293, a great Flemish mystic, has exercised immense influence on mystical thought. The work which is here newly translated is one of the greatest treatises on the contemplative life. There is a structural order and symmetry about his writing which reflects the intellectual discipline of the Schoolman. For the saint was philosopher as well as mystic and teacher, and the *Espousals* are arranged in three sections entitled, The Active Life, The Life of Yearning for God, The Life of Contemplation of God.

The Brethren of the Common Life—from whom Thomas A'Kempis is believed to have come—took the Spiritual Espousals as their rule.

Mr. Colledge has contributed an Introduction which throws much light upon Ruysbroek's intellectual background.

Documents Illustrating Papal Authority: A.D. 96-545. Edited and Introduced by E. Giles. 344 pp. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d.

Much has been written on the subject of Church authority. It is the major issue of controversy between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. And every student of Church history is familiar with a number of extracts from the writings of the fathers which are frequently quoted in works dealing with the patristic period. These extracts are often used in controversial discussion, torn from their context, and possibly misconstrued. Yet it is imprudent to allow a writer to argue from such quotations without referring to the context from which they are taken. Mr. Giles has collected and translated a very useful body of documents which in aggregate give a comprehensive picture of the material available for the study of papal authority in the beginning of Church history. The work is scholarly and free from partizan interest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent books does not exclude a subsequent review.

GENERAL

Hannah More. By M. G. Jones. Cambridge University Press. 27s. 6d.

Hannah More, author, reformer, philanthropist, and educationist is little but a name. But in the last quarter of the eighteenth century she was very well known. The daughter of a schoolmaster near Bristol. Hannah had a religious upbringing, and a good education. With her four sisters she founded a good school for girls at Bristol. Her literary gifts soon brought her into London society and, later, into friendship with the leading members of the Clapham Sect. Her most memorable achievement in middle life was the foundation of a group of village schools which were spread across the country between Bristol and Sedgemoor. Dr. Jones has written a good book which illustrates the religious and social life of the eighteenth century and may help to dispel some of the errors current about that seminal epoch.

Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement 1832-1854. By R. A. Lewis. Longmans. 24s.

At last the public is furnished with a well-documented account of a man whose original mind and strength of will made him the creator of many important social services. His life was an unremitting conflict with political reaction and the opposition of those whose vested interests, in one or another shape, might be damaged by the abatement of social ills. For the unimaginable extent of those evils the reader must turn to the book itself. Such history has a current relevance through the light which it throws on human blindness and inertia. For although we no longer suffer much from the abuses which are described—thanks to Chadwick's astonishing achievement in the reform of both central and local administration—we are not exempt from many abuses of other kinds which flourish through similar blindness and inertia, nor is such exemption ever likely. Neither the character of the public nor of officialdom has changed as much as we like to suppose.

The Counter-Revolution of Science. Studies in the Abuse of Reason. By F. A. Hayek. Allen and Unwin. 32s.

This book is of interest in that it contains an unprejudiced discussion of the methods of investigation commonly employed in the social sciences. These methods have been borrowed from physical science with erroneous and even pernicious consequences. Those consequences and their practical implications are fully considered. This "social engineering" of the Left, is a movement which owes a good deal to Saint-Simon and his followers in France. Mill and Carlyle were affected by it. Comte had many pupils in this country. Marxism stems from it.

Although the criticism of such social theorists is not unfamiliar, it seems to have little effect on ephemeral opinion. Professor Hayek brings to the subject a wide knowledge of continental writers. The relation of such social studies to the future of religious freedom needs no emphasis.

The Recovery of Belief. By C. E. M. Joad. Faber and Faber. 15s.

Students of Dr. Joad's recent writing will not be surprised to find in this book a full acceptance of the Christian faith. What it contains is all the more valuable in that it represents the reasoned position of a mind which has travelled far from an earlier attitude of doubt, and even militant agnosticism.

Dr. Joad has a gift of lucid and precise exposition which we rarely see in works of popular apologetic. He is very well-read, and he brings to his subject the inestimable advantage of acquaintance with the thought of many of the great philosophers, both classical and modern. His book will be read by many who fight shy of technical treatises on theology. It deals with the reasonable presuppositions of Christian doctrine, rather than those doctrines themselves. "For some years past I have done my best to practise the Christian religion according to the ritual of the Anglican Church."

We may be sure that such a recantation has not been possible without deep reflection and heart-searching. Dr. Joad is engaged in a long and hard pilgrimage directed by rational inquiry. The Christian witness of such a mind has a quality which is denied to many writers whose acceptance of Christianity has been unshaken from childhood.

Juvenile Delinquency. By J. W. D. Pearce. 396 pp. Cassell. 25s.

A reliable guide by a medical man who has in his official experience as medico-psychologist to the L.C.C. Remand Homes become an authority on the subject. *See Editorial Notes.*

The Whig Interpretation of History. By H. Butterfield. G. Bell & Sons. (1950). 7s. 6d.

This book, written more than twenty years ago and re-issued, is still valuable and apposite as a criticism of much historical thinking and writing. "The truth is that there is a tendency for all history to veer over into whig history." Professor Butterfield lays emphasis on this danger, and on the historian's need of self-criticism. That need is still urgent, and not only for the purpose of counteracting the whig fallacy. There are others.

Fleming: Discoverer of Penicillin. By L. J. Ludovici. Andrew Dakers.

An absorbing account of one of the great achievements of medical science. Beginning with the inspiring leadership of Almroth Wright at St. Mary's Hospital where Fleming became a student in 1902 a remarkable story unfolds and culminates in the miraculous work, due to Penicillin, in the late war.

Sir James Jeans: A Biography. By the late E. A. Milne. With a Memoir by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

This work is both an appreciation by a very well qualified hand of what Jeans did in physics, and an account of a brilliant thinker who became eminent as a writer skilled in the exposition of technical subjects for the general reader. Such work was not without significance to religion. Jeans has been quoted in the pulpit.

John Byrom. Selections from his Journals and Papers. By Henri Talon. Rockliff.

We are already much indebted to Professor Talon for a remarkable study of Bunyan. This work (dedicated to Stephen Hobhouse and Pierre Legouis) offers a selection from the letters and papers with an introduction and scholarly notes written by one whose knowledge of the period is exceptional. The evidence of this book shows that religion was more deeply involved in the lives of men and women of the 18th Century than popular impressions would lead us to think.

The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold. Edited by H. E. Lowry, Karl Young, and Waldo Hilary Dunn. Oxford University Press.

For thirty-seven years Arnold made a practice of planning his reading and of copying short quotations into his private diary. In aggregate it forms an anthology of priceless worth, for Arnold's interest was, in these note-books at least, confined to the life of the spirit. Who were Arnold's most frequent companions? St. Paul is an easy winner. Next comes a very close competitor, Thomas à Kempis. Others often quoted are Plato, Cicero, Epictetus, Goethe, and contemporary French thinkers. But his monthly reading list is preserved and it covered the whole of literature, ancient and modern. Virgil and the Greek Tragic Poets, Dante and the classic of English literature were his constant resort. Arnold has told us what he owed to such reading. Here is the last entry. *Si est gaudium in mundo, hoc utique possidet puri cordis homo.* An incomparable addition to literature.

THEOLOGICAL

The Dominion of Christ. By L. S. Thornton. 207 pp. Dacre Press. 25s.

This is the second of three important books designed to expound the nature of the Biblical revelation, with the general title of "The Form of the Servant". The first volume was *Revelation and the Modern World,* a seminal treatise on the Christian doctrine of revelation and the principles of biblical interpretation. The present volume develops some of those principles. *A detailed notice is deferred.*

Pascal: His Life and Works. By Jean Mesnard. Preface by Monsignor Ronald Knox. Translated by G. S. Fraser. 210 pp. Harvill Press.

An excellent reinterpretation of Pascal with an up-to-date study of the problem of the *Pensées.* It makes a companion volume to Dr. H. F. Stewart's fine edition of the *Pensées* (Routledge: 1950).

A Theology of Transition. By James W. Leitch. Foreword by Prof. Karl Barth. Nisbet and Co. 15s.

In his foreword to this work Professor Barth pays a tribute to H. R. Mackintosh whose theology forms the theme. Mackintosh, who had penetrated and assimilated the positions of nineteenth-century German theology of the school of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, gradually moved over to a position identical with that of Barth. Mr. Leitch illustrates the transition and such a study is not only of historical interest. "Mackintosh, if he were still with us, would certainly be surprised . . . to learn that in Germany the problems presented by Schleiermacher, Ritschl and Hermann have meanwhile risen again in a new form." Professor Barth so alludes to the work of Rudolph Bultmann.

The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture. By J. G. Davies. 150 pp. S.C.M. Press. 21s.

The better known text-books of Architectural history have never given an adequate account of the early centuries. The present work which embodies the fruit of much research by Continental scholars carries the subject farther than any existing book in English. (The great age of Architectural scholarship in Britain was chiefly interested in Gothic, and, later, in Renaissance design.)

The fact that Mr. Davies brings to Architectural studies a trained theological mind is important. The book will be indispensable to Architects, Liturgiologists, and Historians, while of interest, also, to the general reader. There is a good bibliography.

The Fulness of Time. By John Marsh. 190 pp. Nisbet. 15s.

Professor Marsh is a philosophical theologian, versed in recent discussion about time and eternity, who aims at showing what these terms imply for the Biblical student.

Sponsors at Baptism and Confirmation. By Derrick Sherwin Bailey. 161 pp. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Bailey has written a history of Anglican practice based on extensive research. The last chapter is important, dealing as it does with the present situation, and with its reform.

A Dean's Apology. By C. A. Alington. 200 pp. Faber. 12s. 6d.

There is an unpretentious charm in books by the late Dean of Durham which must have helped to bring many converts to the Christian faith. Would that more theologians understood this gift for simple, perfectly expressed evangelism in the vulgar tongue. This book, full of the wisdom of a Christian scholar and teacher, should be on every bookshelf. There are two sections: one "autobiographical", the other "argumentative". The first is a valued historical document: the second, apologetic, equally valued. "My main object in writing has been to appeal to men of intelligence and good will to reconsider their attitude towards the Church." Attentive readers will understand why we greet an ally in Dr. Alington.

In the biographical section the author betrays an insight in brief sketches of his contemporaries which has been wanting in recent contributions to church history. There is never a trace of partisan feeling. We find here much of that Anglican spirit which at heart every Englishman prefers.

Other recent books by Dr. Alington are *The Life Everlasting* and *Sense and Nonsense*, both published by Basil Blackwell at Oxford.

The Cloud and the Silver Lining. By Emile Cammaerts. 110 pp. Mowbrays. 5s.

Busy men and women are apt to miss a most widely valued feature of broadcasting in England. This *Silver Lining* Programme is provided for the encouragement and guidance of those who are "in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity". What could be better, provided that the message comes from a speaker, deeply imbued with the spirit of the Christian faith and qualified to deliver it? Dr. Emile Cammaerts, who has worked so hard for the Christian Cell movement, understands our troubles, and can speak to the point. These brief chapters on pain, bereavement, prayer, sin and other urgent topics are written for "all sorts and conditions of men" in order that those things which sadden and perplex may be reconsidered and turned to bear fruit in a richer understanding. They are "documented" with matter chosen from the innumerable letters received from listeners.

Professor Cammaerts is practical. Listeners have told him that the radio on Thursday afternons is their only means of spiritual comfort. In the case of sickness this must be so. They cannot go to Church. Surely the author is right when he proposes that relief for those who are sick and solitary should be organised in every parish. The clergy cannot do everything. But in some parishes it would not be difficult to organise voluntary workers qualified for the task. It is intolerable that the aged and sick should be left forgotten by their fellow-christians.

The Formation of the New Testament. By H. F. D. Sparks. 172 pp. S.C.M. Press. 13s. 6d.

The aim of this useful work is to place the N.T. writings in their historical context, relating them to the *milieu* of religious life and thought in which they were written. A valuable survey of the present state of N.T. studies.

Music at the Parish Church. By John G. Auton and Patrick Wild. 69 pp. Oxford University Press. 6s.

A book with much practical advice for choirmasters and clergy. Useful also to the man in the pew.

The Church and the Artisan Today. By Roger Lloyd. 101 pp. Longmans. 4s. 6d.

This book deals briefly and lucidly with the apparent indifference of the industrious classes and with possible ways of bringing them into the community of practising Christians. Whether, however, the problem of evangelism is more difficult in the case of the artisan than in the case of the rest of the nation seems doubtful.

Man's Search for Health. By Phyllis Garlick. 344 pp. Highway Press. 15s.

A study of the inter-relation of religion and medicine. The author, who has a considerable knowledge of recent medical thought and achievement as well as a theological training, furnishes a full and competent exposition of the complementary functions of medical therapy and spiritual practise. Medicine recognises that health is more than a physical problem. A valuable and very topical section of this book deals with the ideas which underlie native African medicine. The subject is a profound one and would repay specialised investigation.

Religion in an African City. By Geoffrey Parrinder. Oxford University Press. 15s.

Dr. Parrinder is a lecturer at University College, Ibadan. Ibadan is a great city where formerly the African tribal religion was generally held and practised. Dr. Parrinder has written this brief survey of the situation in a place where the native religion is apparently disintegrating under the impact of both Moslem and Christian influences. The subject is of the utmost importance, having regard to the moral and political development of Africa, and it merits more extensive study.

Concise Bible Commentary. By W. K. Lowther Clarke. S.P.C.K. 30s.

An up-to-date commentary on the Bible and Apocrypha. It embodies the fruit of a life-long study of the Bible by its author, who, is, also, a competent scholar in other fields such as—to mention but one—ancient history and philosophy, without which such a work would be impossible. The section which includes articles on such topics as the Gentile Background, Doctrine in the New Testament, The Bible View of History, and others is a valuable part of this book.

The *Missionary Factor in East Arica.* By Roland Oliver. 302 pp. Longmans. 17s. 6d.

A very good study of the rise of the East African churches, their problems and their future. The future is obscure owing to the growth of secularism. "It is significant," says Dr. Oliver, "that the ministry is the one profession which has not so far gained from higher education." The education offered to the people has not brought candidates for the religious life. It is a circumstance which calls for very careful consideration, especially in relation to the experience of Moslem missionary effort.

God and the World. By T. M. Forsyth. 160 pp. George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Forsyth is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in the Orange Free State. The title conveys the subject of this book in which will be found an admirable, brief survey of the teaching of Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza and the Creative Evolutionists from Bergson to Whitehead.

The Spiritual Letters of Shirley Carter Hughson, O.H.C. Holy Cross Press, N.Y. $3.

A number of enlightened readers already know the writings of Fr Hughson. His " With Christ in God" published in 1947, and made available to English readers through S.P.C.K., is a monument of spiritual guidance for those who know that without personal experience of the presence of God all that passes as Christian belief and practice is futile.

The present volume may be compared with the letters of St. Francis de Sales, of de Caussade, Pusey, Von Hügel and other great directors of souls. It is the glory of the human race that from time to time such men become known. History has recorded holy men for whose minds the words and thought of the Bible had become a constant controlling element. For Fr Hughson such an element was not limited to the Bible but comprised the whole of the great corpus of Christian devotional classics

Belief in Action. By K. N. Bell, Sometime Fellow of Balliol and Vicar of Binley. With a Memoir by Austin Lane Poole. G. Bell and Sons. 8s. 6d.

A volume of sermons by K. N. Bell will not be overlooked by those many Oxford men and others who knew him and his exceptional genius. Bell was both a scholar and a very active Christian worker. In 1943 he decided to take orders, although over sixty, and after spending some time with Bishop Gorton as a Lay Reader, became ordained. His sermons, simple and sincere, are written for an ordinary congregation.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

The Downside Review. Autumn, 1952. 4s.

An article on *The Modern University in the Light of Newman's Idea* by A. C. F. Beales is of special interest. Other articles include a discussion of Max Picard's *The World of Silence,* and *Reflexions on Death.*

Scottish Journal of Theology. December, 1952. Oliver & Boyd. 4s. 6d.

Dr. Sherwin Bailey contributes a useful article on *The Ecumenical Significance of Anglicanism* and the Rev. W. A. Whitehouse writes on Barth's teaching on Ethics. Among the books reviewed no less than four deal with aspects of Anglicanism.

The Journal of Theological Studies. October, 1952. Geoffrey Cumberlege. 18s.

Of great interest is a learned essay entitled *Judæa and Rome: The Official Commentary.* It is by the Rev. H. St. John Hart. Dr.

Farrer's recent *Study in St. Mark* is the subject of a review which comes from the pen of the Rev. F. N. Davey.

The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science. Vol. III, No. ii. Nelson. 7s. 6d.

Among the articles and reviews our readers will find of great interest: *The Stability of Beliefs,* by Michael Polanyi; *Science and Humanism; Physics in our Time,* by E. Schrodinger, reviewed by Kathleen Lonsdale; and Sir E. Whittaker's *Eddington's Principle in the Philosophy of Science,* reviewed by T. G. Cowling. The Editor is to be congratulated on the continued high quality of this young periodical.

Bulletin of the Institute of Hisorical Research. May, 1952. Athlone Press. 7s. 6d.

An article by Miss Ethel Drus examines some of the private papers of Joseph Chamberlain relating to the Jameson Raid and criticises J. L. Garvin's handling of the subject in the unfinished biography of Chamberlain.

The Holy Cross Magazine. November, 1952. Holy Cross Press, West Park, N.Y. 25 cents.

This excellent, illustrated monthly includes articles on a wide range of topics.

The Expository Times. January, 1953. T. & T. Clark. 1s. 6d.

This number of exceptional interest includes an account of R. C. Moberly's famous *Atonement and Personality* from the pen of the Rev. Gordon Rupp. Fr Jarrett-Kerr's book *The Hope of Glory* is the subject of a notice by Dr. Vincent Taylor. There is in this number much criticism of Professor Rudolf Bultmann, and Professor Henderson's recent work entitled *Myth in the New Testament* is reviewed by Dr. A. M. Hunter.

The International Review of Missions. January, 1953. Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. Quarterly.

In addition to a comprehensive survey of the Church overseas there is a good report of the Lund conference by H. R. T. Brandreth. Among book reviews may be mentioned a good review of *Women of the Grassfields* by Miss Phyllis M. Kaberry, an able anthropological study of the Bamenda district in British Cameroons. The writer is Miss Sylvia Leith-Ross. The *Bibliography* of new books related to the work of the Church in the mission field which appears regularly in this journal is remarkable.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Vol. 35: I. September, 1952. 270 pp. Manchester University Press. 10s. 6d.

The *Notes and News* refer to the centenary of the magnificent work of Manchester Public Library, a unique achievement which costs the city about one quarter of a million pounds every year.

Articles of special interest include *The Letters of Pope Innocent III* by C. R. Cheney and *The Achievement of Saladin* by H. A. R. Gibb.

The Quarterly Review No. 595 (*January*). John Murray. 8s. 6d.

Excellent articles deal with *British Churches and Foreign Affairs; The Centrality of Chesterton;* and *The Third Marquess of Salisbury as Empire Builder.* Dr. Arundell Esdaile contributes an appreciation of Boswell.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique. Decr. 1952. 142 pp. Casterman, Tournai. £1 10s. a year.

Packed with informative matter, this number includes an article on the fourth centenary of St. François-Xavier by Fr P. Charles, S.J. Professor Clément Mertens writes on the problem of population in relation to Catholic doctrine.

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EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

Baptized Persons, Christian Groups and the Catholic Church

"In discussion of closer relations between separated Churches, it is to be held (as the Lambeth Appeal of 1920 held) that all baptized persons however grouped are within the Catholic Church and accordingly that all divisions between them are divisions between people already in a very real sense related to one another as members of the Church 'by water and the Holy Ghost'."

This statement, made by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his Presidential address to Convocation on October 15, 1952, has received much criticism in some quarters. Now that there has been time both for the statement itself to have been studied, and for criticism of it to crystallize, an examination both of the statement and of the criticism may be useful. We attempt an exploration of this particular piece of ground in the hope that it may take us a few steps forward to the reunion of Christendom.

The Archbishop's first assertion was that "all baptized persons . . . are within the Catholic Church". The Lambeth Appeal of 1920 said "We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptized into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His Body".[1] M. J. Congar, O.P., says of those receiving 'valid baptism' in communities regarded by Roman Catholics as dissident, "Traditional teaching here is clear and unanimous: children validly baptized in the separated Churches or dissident communities are genuinely members of the one true Church of Jesus Christ".[2] The point need not be laboured. Hundreds of testimonies to this effect could be quoted. The Archbishop's words "All baptized persons however grouped are within the Catholic Church" are the statement of a Catholic principle.

It must be noted that nothing whatever is implied beyond the fact that validly baptized persons are members of the Church. They may be good, bad, or indifferent members; they may or may not be in a state of grace. But members they are.[3]

The Archbishop's second assertion was " that all divisions between them are divisions between people already in a very real sense related to one another as members of that Church ". It is this that arouses the criticism. The suggestion that all schism is within and not from the Church is described as " new and question-begging".[4] "Are then," it is asked, "all organized groups of baptized Christians equally parts of the Catholic Church ? " and " Does it necessarily follow that organized Nonconformists bodies are all equally within the Church, even if the individuals composing those groups are assumed to be validly baptized ? "[5]

In posing these questions the writer has perhaps allowed his ' indignation ' to run away with him. Neither the Archbishop, nor, so far as is known, any other responsible Churchman has suggested that all baptized persons or groups of baptized persons are *equally* within or parts of the Catholic Church. We must, therefore, be allowed to re-frame the questions so that at least they are *ad rem*. " Are then all organized groups of baptized Christians parts of the Catholic Church ? " " Does it necessarily follow that organized Nonconformist bodies are all within the Church, even if the individuals composing those groups are assumed to be validly baptized ? " These are the same questions as those asked by the Archbishop's critic, but without the one word ' equally '.

We suggest that the answer to these questions (omitting the word ' equally ') may very well be ' Yes '. If the Catholic principle that valid baptism confers membership of the Church be granted, then it follows that any number of validly baptized persons belonging to an organized Christian group are all members of the Church; and this, to say the least, creates a strong presumption that such a group in some sense partakes of the nature of the Church. It is not, of course, meant to imply that a secular group, such as, for example, a Savings Club or a Lodge of Oddfellows, would become a part of the Catholic Church in virtue of the fact that all its members happened to be baptized. What is suggested is that if a baptized person is a member of the Church, then the Christian group to which he belongs together with many other baptized persons, the group from which he received in baptism his character as a member of the Church and in which he lives his Christian life, must be reckoned as partaking in the life of Christ and of the Church. To say that such a group is not part of the Body of Christ seems as contrary to reason as to charity.

But the conclusion must not be taken to imply more than is actually said. Nothing is asserted as to the completeness or effectiveness of the group as a part of the Catholic Church, as to whether it is whole in faith and order and sound in discipline or not. Just as the baptized person may be a good, bad, or indifferent member of the Church, in a state of grace or out of it, but is still a member, so the group may or may not hold in true balance all the principles of Catholicity, may or may not be lacking in one or more of the elements of Catholic order, discipline and devotion, but is still a visible part of the Church.[6]

If this be the case, it might be asked, what is gained by the assertion that these groups are within the Church. If, having agreed that existing divisions among groups of baptized Christians are schisms within the Church, it still has to be determined whether a given group measures up to the norm of Catholicity or not, is the cause of the reunion of Christendom advanced by a single step ? What gain does the principle bring ?

The gain brought by the acceptance of the principle advanced by the Archbishop would be a firm base on which advance could be made. Let us postulate two organized groups of validly baptized persons, A and B. No longer will A say to B, or B to A " We are of the Church, but you are not ". That attitude vitiates hope of any progress from the start, as Anglicans ought well to realize from their experience of conversations with Roman Catholics. But A will say to B, and B to A, " We are of the Church, and so we believe are you. But it is our conviction that you have lost this or that element of the wholeness of Church doctrine, discipline or devotion as the New Testament and the Fathers declare them. Such and such are our reasons for so thinking. We ask you to consider them, and we dare to ask you to restore this element in your system, so that we may advance to the stage of full communion between us. It may well be, too, that in our separation, we have lost something of Catholicity, and have lessons to learn and corrections to make in respect of our Church life. If you think so, please tell us."

To come to particular cases, the Church of England might wish to say to Methodism, " We consider that your ministry and therefore your sacraments lack elements which are proper to a full Christian ministry and sacramental practice."[7] Methodism might want to say to the Church of England, " We consider that your Church order lacks a primitive element in restricting the functions of the laity in such and such a way." Discussion would then take place between accredited theologians of both groups. And such discussions would begin with a fair hope of advance being made, for the starting point would be agreement that both groups are within the Church.

As things are, when conversations take place between two groups, one (or even both) of which starts with the assumption that it is within the Church and the other not, the direction of the conversations must inevitably be determined by the need of the one group to prove to the other that it is outside the Church in order to force it in. Anglicans, again from their experience of conversations with Roman Catholics, ought to be aware of the futility of this proceeding. But with the recognition that both groups are part of the Church, the ground is cleared for calm, friendly, and scholarly discussion as to the means of strengthening each group in Catholicity towards the end of mutual communion.

It would, perhaps, be salutary if the word " essential " were used in discussions as little as possible. Actually, among the groups between which reunion is practical politics there is wide agreement that certain things are " essential " to the Church, the Creeds, doctrine based on Holy Scripture, the dominical sacraments. There is not, however, a similar agreement concerning the ministry, and it is here that the most stubborn of the obstacles to reunion is to be found. Some say that a ministry of Bishops, espiscopally ordained priests and deacons is of the *esse* of the Church. Others say that a presbyteral form of ministry is more primitive. Yet others say that no particular form of ministry is essential.

It ought to be recognized that " essential " is an exceedingly slippery word to use; and it becomes the more difficult to use with clear meaning as we try to apply it to more highly organized entities. It is an easy thing, at least for a chemist, to say what is essential to a chemical substance. In it there are certain elements existing under certain conditions without which the substance in question would not be what it is. It is far less easy to say what is essential to a man. Is it that he walks on two legs. But certain other animals can do this. And presumably a one-legged man is still a man. Is it that he has speech ? This differentiates him from other animals. But is not a dumb man still a man ? Is it that he possesses rationality ? Man is a rational animal, according to Aristotle's definition. But are we to say that a lunatic is in no sense a man ? Little by little we are driven back to a position in which we can only say that the *esse* of a man is his humanity. This is undoubtedly true, but not very helpful.

Similar difficulties are inevitable if we attempt to say what is essential to the Church.[8] Hence the suggestion that the word " essential " should be used very sparingly in discussions. Could not Anglicans be content to discuss, for example with Methodists, episcopacy as the desirable Church order of the future on such grounds as its antiquity, universality, and its practical necessity for the purpose of attaining to Christ's will for Church unity, without raising the question whether it is a *sine qua non* in principle ? No Anglican who believes that episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church would be asked to deny it. He would be asked not to raise the question at this juncture. Believing as he does in the essentiality of episcopacy, the important thing for him should be that Methodists should wholeheartedly *accept* it. This they will never do, as a group, if it is insisted that episcopacy is essential. " Essential for what ? " they may ask. If the reply is " Essential for a valid ministry and sacraments ", they will doubtless ask whether validity is any guarantee of effectiveness, and will point to the obvious fruits of their own ministry and sacraments in people's lives. It is really difficult to resist the application of our Lord's words, " By their fruits ye shall know them ". The Anglican may wish to say " We admit that your ministry is effective, but it is invalid ". But it is questionable whether such a statement means anything " ontologically ", as the philosophers say. At all events it is clear that Methodism as a whole would not be amenable to this line of argument.

On the other hand there is some cause to believe that Methodism would accept episcopacy on the ground of its antiquity, universality, and its workability as the right system for the Church of the future.

If we can secure the acceptance of episcopacy without raising the question of its essentiality, nobody who conscientiously believes that it is in fact of the *esse* of the Church need be affronted. At no stage has such a person been asked to deny his beliefs. He can continue to hold them, and can continue to persuade others as to their correctness. He should rejoice that, so many more having accepted episcopacy, there will be so much wider a field of those who are open to be persuaded that the Church order they have willingly accepted for good reasons is essential.[9]

It has been contended that it would be meaningless for Free Church groups to accept episcopacy, and even hypocritical for a Free Church Minister to accept episcopal ordination and consecration and proceed to ordain others, without subscribing to a particular doctrine of episcopacy. Such a contention could only be maintained if it were possible to point to a particular doctrine of episcopacy laid down in the formularies of the Church of England. Many Anglicans hold this or that particular doctrine of episcopacy; many, no doubt, consider that the particular doctrine of episcopacy they hold *is* the Anglican doctrine. But the bare fact is that Anglicanism, which has been so strongly tenacious of episcopacy, has no definition of its doctrine in any formulary. It is, indeed, perhaps, part of the genius of Anglicanism that it does not allow authority to any body to define doctrines any more closely than they are defined in Holy Scripture and the first four general councils. We do not ask godparents to vouch that the child to be baptized will hold a particular doctrine of baptism. We do not require communicants to declare a particular Eucharistic doctrine. We do not ask ordinands whether they accept a particular doctrine of grace. Of all these persons questions are asked, but they relate chiefly to faith, acceptance of the Scriptures and the Creeds, penitence, and manner of life. For the rest, the Church assumes that those who present themselves for these sacraments will to " do what the Church does ", just as the Church requires the minister of the sacrament to have the intention of " doing what the Church does ", and assumes that he has it unless there is evidence to the contrary. It would be inconsistent with the whole tradition of Anglicanism to insist that a Free Church minister who sought episcopal ordination and consecration should subscribe to a particular doctrine of episcopacy.

Here again we find ourselves at rest in an anchorage of sound Catholic principle. Those who bring forward the above objection to a possible Free Church acceptance of episcopacy would do well to study their " Moral and Pastoral Theology " by H. Davis, S.J.[10] The principle is stated in startling boldness: " The minister of a Sacrament requires neither faith nor the state of grace nor holiness of life for valid administration of the Sacraments; . . . the Sacraments operate by divine power, and do not depend for validity on the disposition of their minister. It is necessary that the minister of a Sacrament should have the intention of doing that which the Church does in conferring Sacraments. . . . Furthermore, even though the minister is a heretic, and explicitly intends not to act as the Catholic Church acts but as his own Church acts, thinking it to be the true Church, his intention is sufficient, provided he does not rule out what is essential in the Sacrament."

Such a statement leaves very little substance in the arguments of those who would say that for a Free Church minister to accept consecration as a Bishop and to proceed to ordain would be either empty formality or hypocrisy unless he subscribed to a particular doctrine of episcopacy. Our Free Church minister in accepting consecration and proceeding to ordain is to be presumed as desiring above all else to do what the Church does.[11] Catholic, and even Roman Catholic, principle raises no *obstat* here.

This examination of the Archbishop's statement seems to show that a strong defence could be made against the charge that it was " new and question-begging ". Centuries old Catholic principles are not to be dismissed with such words.

Moreover, on the positive side his statement does point to a possible way forward to unity, whereas the " We are of the Church, you are not " attitude can only keep us boxed up in our mutually exclusive and suspicious groups.

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[1] In this article " baptism " means baptism with water in the name of the Holy Trinity. The validity, however, is not denied of the baptism of those who in New Testament times were apparently baptized simply " into the name of the Lord Jesus ".

[2] " Divided Christendom ", 1939, p. 230.

[3] It is assumed here that they have not apostatized from the faith, e.g., by becoming avowed atheists, nor been excommunicated. Yet the exclusion of these from the Church is not final. Restoration is possible by penitence, confession and absolution. To what extent the character of baptism remains during a period of apostasy or excommunication is perhaps a nice theological question.

[4] Those who think that this is a new doctrine would do well to read Hooker's " Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity ", Book III. Here are a few quotations: " we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the visible Church " (I. ii). "Where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth " (I. xi). " Forasmuch as men remain in the visible Church, till they utterly renounce the profession of Christianity, we may not deny unto infants their right by withholding from them the public sign of holy baptism, if they be born where the outward acknowledgement of Christianity is not clean gone and extinguished. For being in such sort born, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them interest and right in baptism " (I. xii). " Heresies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forsaken, exclude quite and clean from that salvation which belongeth unto the *mystical* body of Christ; yea, they also make a separation from the *visible sound* Church of Christ; altogether from the *visible* Church neither the one nor the other doth sever " (I. xiii) (italics mine).

Let Hooker admonish us: " For lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed " (I. ix).

Holding this principle, Hooker does not hesitate to refer clearly to non-episcopal Christian groups as " Churches " (Book IV *passim*), a practice which appears to cause dismay in some Anglican hearts today. We perhaps have much to learn not only from Hooker's sobriety of argument but also from his charity, both maintained in days when controversy was certainly no less sharp than it is now.

[5] *Church Times,* October 24th, 1952, Leading Article " Membership of the Holy Catholic Church ".

[6] In the discussions of the future theologians will have to give their attention to the point at which declension from the standards of the New Testament and the Creeds must be taken to have caused schism *outside* the Church. It can be conjectured that the standard of judgment in this matter will not so much be the question whether a parti-

cular heresy (in the modern sense of the word) is held, as whether the group is a heresy or " haeresis " in the original meaning of that word. From the Anglican point of view there is a very great difference between, let us say, an average Baptist and an average Jehovah's Witness. The difference is not so much one of doctrine, great though that is, but one of temper.

[7] Some Anglicans would doubtless prefer bluntly to use the term " invalid ". But " invalid ", like " essential " is a slippery word to use and is best avoided.

[8] Anglicans must realize that for Christians of a non-episcopal Church it is not always self-evident that episcopacy is the essential basis of Church order. No Biblical scholar, however firmly he believed in episcopacy, would contend that the New Testament evidence for it is as clear as that for the divinity of Christ. No historian would contend that the necessity and desirability of episcopacy have been clear to see in every age. Fifteenth century Italy and eighteenth century England are cases in point.

[9] Those who believe that episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church, and that religious groups which do not possess it lack something which is essential to constitute them a part of the Catholic Church would be asked to act as the parents in the following analogy: a child is sick, and a certain diet is essential for its health, and in fact for its life. The child does not understand, perhaps is not able to understand, that the food in question is essential for its life. But the parents are happy enough if the child will take the diet for any reason whatever, because it likes the look of it, or the taste of it, for instance. They will be still happier if the child takes the diet because he trusts them and loves them. Later, perhaps, the child will learn that it was the diet which saved its life, and that it was essential as well as being merely acceptable. But even if the child does not come to understand this, it will be *alive*.

[10] Pub. Sheed & Ward 1935: see especially Book III, chapter 4.

[11] He would probably prefer to speak of doing what Christ wills to do through His Church. Few, presumably, would wish to quarrel with that way of putting it.

NOTES

A MINISTRY OF THOUGHT

SOME recent letters to *The Times* call for comment. Prompted by a pronouncement made by the Bishop of Bristol, who invited more " top-flight intellectuals " to take Holy Orders, Professor E. F. Jacob of All Souls College, Oxford, pleaded for the provision in the Church of England of better opportunities for men of scholastic attainment. He asked for greater facilities for post-ordination training and study and for additional posts in the parish church cathedrals for men who are qualified for teaching. Professor Jacob—who is an eminent historian—refers to the work now being done in revision of the Canon Law, and he uses these words: " One of these Canons lays down the sources wherein the doctrine of the Church of England is to be found. How much thought, throughout the ministry as a whole, is being given to this fundamental matter?" The Bishop of Bristol, Professor Jacob and others have alluded to a very important issue. It is an issue which also concerns the laity. Some years ago *The Guardian*—before its lamented suspension—published an article by Br Every, S.S.M., written to show that those duties of teaching and research which formerly occupied the clergy had now been largely delegated to laymen in the learned professions. This is true, and there is a growing body of cultivated laymen who on occasion show a strong concern about Christianity. But this kind of adherence to Christian beliefs is much less effective than it might be owing to the fact that it lacks organization and intellectual leadership. The Church press offers scant help. There is a considerable number of Christian thinkers in England—as every editor will discover—but taken as a whole Christianity is not making an effective impact upon contemporary thought. Popular journalism is quite out of touch with the remarkable work which is being carried on in studies related in one or another way to the propagation of the Christian revelation.

It is unlikely that such a situation will change until there appear in the Church a larger number of original thinkers, scholars, philosophers rather than theologians, who are capable of bringing the light of the Christian revelation to bear upon the broad problems of contemporary thought. Specialists are common. But special studies presuppose in teacher and public an acceptance of the primary fact of God's reality and the Incarnation. It is these fundamentals which, taken as indisputable by practising Christians, are tacitly rejected by a large proportion of the general public. That public has no awareness of a spiritual reality and its sight is blinded by modes of thought which have an effect analogous to morphia in a dying man. In the complicated tangle of half-truths which make up the ideas and concepts of the common man it is a task of the utmost difficulty to awaken an interest in the Kingdom of God—to transmit to minds perverted, drugged and devitalised by the toxins of a trivial and sordid press those transfiguring beliefs which we ourselves treasure.

The issue of what was termed in Professor Jacob's letter "a ministry of thought" bears close relation to the problem of evangelism, for without intellectual leadership the Church, clerical and lay, cannot hope to make any impact upon the mind of the nation, whether we are considering social issues, or the more abstract, but no less vital, thinking in the sphere of philosophy, science and the arts.

Not long ago in a series of broadcast addresses called *Christian Stocktaking*, mention was made of the self-centredness of the Church today in England. For the majority there is quite enough business going on in parochial, diocesan, and even wider spheres to occupy a man's mind, and it is only a deeper insight and judgement, disciplined by hourly prayer, that can keep the prior and essential task of the Church and its priests in its right position. The practical problems of a great organization so easily assume an importance which, after all, becomes spurious unless the background of study and meditation is secure. There is lying at the feet of those Christians—still, fortunately, present in limited numbers—who are alive to the responsibilities of their profession, an extraordinary opportunity. They have something to offer the world which, if presented with intelligence, will attract support partly because it is unfamiliar. They have an untilled field.

Unfortunately a majority are content to neglect this primary obligation of a Churchman, confining their attention to one or two of the many specialist departments which compose the complicated system of a great and historic society. They should read Augustine. In his *De catechizandis rudibus* he enjoins that the Christian teacher should adapt himself to the interests and capacities of his pupils.

WHAT IS MAN?

A SIGNIFICANT trend of study at the present time is occupied with Anthropology. What is man? Much is being written. Much is talked. For in spite of the current indifference to philosophy and religion in many quarters it is clear that *au fond* everyone is committing himself to a theory about the nature of man. Politicians, Economists, Doctors, Lawyers are all involved.

We need not allude to politics on the grand scale. The treatment of man in recent history has become a burning issue when a government publicly disavows its adherence to a convention of human rights and the highways of Europe are saddened with an endless stream of hungry, infirm and destitute refugees. It is unnecessary now to enlarge upon the sinister tendencies of revolutionary governments.

But the doctrine of man is also a domestic issue. Freud, an acknowledged expert in psychological studies, has proclaimed a theory about man which continues to attract support in respectable journals and authors, in spite of its largely fanciful composition. No doubt the prominence attached to sex is partly accountable for this extraordinary vogue of Freudian theory. Man is held to be essentially brutal and any of his higher instincts are the result of "sublimation", and an illusion. It is strange that such ideas should gain credence. It is difficult to believe that a psychotherapy relying on such a travesty of the facts can be trusted.

Freud's theories have been criticised by other writers in the psychological field. With Christianity they are incompatible. The Christian account of human nature can never be reconciled with a theory which treats God as an illusion.

But it is not only the Marxist, and the disciple of Freud, who is prone to depersonalise the human subject. These theorists are carrying to an extreme certain trends of thought which may be discovered in more familiar circles. The true nature of man is receiving small consideration in our present social order, and the prospect is not good.

For every reason we much welcome such works as Dr. David Cairns' *Image of God in Man* which handles with knowledge and expository skill this vital theme. The Christian doctrine of man, of God and of eternal life is very urgent now. The break-up of many established ways and accepted convictions has exposed an alarming weakness here. The issue is fully illustrated in the Bishop of Sheffield's recent book, *The Seed and the Fruit*, which expresses an insight into the practical consequences of a false conception of man's nature and powers. "In no country", he writes, "as yet have men succeeded in achieving both freedom and social justice." He understands the value and also, at the same time, the limitations of social changes which can never eradicate the evil in human nature. The great enemy of the Church is not confined to the geographical area in which a form of Marxist philosophy has become a state religion. It is just as much the new secular order of the West which has taken the bit between its teeth and has become, as Jaques Ellul has described so eloquently, "more penetrating, more crushing, more exacting than it has ever been." (*The Presence of the Kingdom*: S.C.M. Press.)

ANCIENT CHRISTIAN CLASSICS

Those who appreciate the increasing attention justly paid to the works of the Fathers may benefit from two important undertakings.

Ancient Christian Writers (Longmans: 25s.) is a series of convenient volumes which offer a new translation of these invaluable works, together with introductory essays and notes. Fifteen have already appeared including six works by St. Augustine, the Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch, and other famous classics.

At the same time the *Editions Brepols* of Turnhout announce the *Corpus Christianorum*, a new, complete and critical edition of the Fathers. The Latin Fathers will be published first, beginning with Tertullian. This *Corpus* will comprise not only patristic writings but also conciliar, hagiographic and liturgical texts, sepulchral inscriptions, etc.—whatever remains from the first eight centuries in written monuments. This immense undertaking which includes a vast number of works and fragments has been fully described in the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* recently published. The texts will be carefully edited with a full *apparatus criticus*. The whole Latin series is likely to run to 175 volumes in royal octavo of from 600 to 800 pages. Every year will see about ten new volumes. The price per volume, bound, is 600 Belgian francs. The printing and format can only be described as beautiful.

These two collections of Christian writers will be an inestimable boon to scholars and others. Both come from Roman Catholic centres, to which the whole Christian world will be indebted.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES

In no field of intellectual activity is popular taste more at sea than architecture. The average man allows himself to declare an opinion which has no logical relation to those qualities and principles which determine the character of an architectural design. Fashion, stylistic considerations, crude generalisations about period or manner go to make up the common likes or dislikes. Nor are the critics usually much better, for, as Canova once said—after observing British visitors in Rome—the British judge art, not with the eye, but with the ear. The critic repeats the latest cliché of the salon.

It is due, not to the genuine practitioners, but to the writers and camp-followers of a learned profession that the whole rich expansion of design and craftsmanship during the Victorian era and the first decade of the present century was banished from the attention of most people who made any profesion of taste.

Yet in no period of the past was there any comparable manifestation of vitality, earnest thought, courage and imagination. Every circumstance conspired to evoke in the architects of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the present century a maximum of creative power and originality. Of this varied and complicated history Mr. H. S. Goodhart-Rendel has written an able study. His *English Architecture Since the Regency* should be in every man's library. A greater sanity can come only with knowledge such as this work will furnish. Nor is architecture unconnected with the interests of this Review. Butterfield was not the only member of his profession who practised a deep-set piety.

After the first World War a reaction against most established principles was general. Functionalism served its purpose—a heresy, but, like other heresies, useful to orthodoxy if not promoted to a dogma. (So also, a bit later, logical positivism stimulated theology.) But the practical effect was a grave distortion, and owing to " puritan " taste at a time when the cupboard was bare—both talent and finance destroyed by war—there followed a period of confusion and poverty from which we have not yet recovered. What in other ages would have been condemned as *gauche* and crude became the model of critics. A structure at Acton in West London acquired a kind of symbolic importance owing to its negation of grace, and parties of students were sent to inspect it by their professors. It does no credit to those professors that their lectures on history stopped short in the Regency.

Mr. Goodhart-Rendel's book is not only an invaluable history, but an important contribution to current theory. It is likely to have an influential effect. Now, at last, in the senior common rooms of Oxford and Cambridge we shall hear less frequently that inveterate disparagement of Butterfield, Gilbert Scott, Waterhouse and the other Victorian leaders—all in their several ways pioneers of great courage and judgement. While in the weekly press and on the air once again will be witnessed that familiar, if jejune occurrence, a *volte-face* of the critics.

Cultivated opinion will look forward to a larger work on this important subject. Victorian architects did not leave any signature on their works other than their unmistakably personal style, and few of them had time to write. Much has been forgotten, and much has perished, especially in the field of interior design—fireplaces, woodwork, mural decoration, plasterwork, defaced by the ignorance of a later generation. The present commentator does not, of course, remember the giants of the Victorian epoch; but some of their ablest pupils, now also gone, left upon him an indelible conviction of their quality. We cannot expect to see their like.

RELIGIOUS LETTERS OF DR. JOHNSON

By G. LACEY MAY

I

THE close of the Civil War, followed by domestic peace and security for such recreations as building and gardening, opened out a new era of letter-writing between friends, so that the eighteenth century became known as the Golden Age of letter-writing.

The literary and politically-minded wrote on anything and everything. Whilst the worldly, such as Atterbury, Swift, Gray and Pope, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lord Chesterfield, Gibbon, C. J. Fox and Horace Walpole, were writing letters literary, cynical, wire-pulling, witty and mostly semi or wholly pagan, another class of Englishman was writing letters of real spiritual import, letters moved by love of our Lord and an intense desire to bear witness to him in an ungoldly age. Amongst these were the Wesleys (parents and sons), William Law, Samuel Johnson, William Cowper, John Newton, John Fletcher, William Wilberforce and Hannah More. Of these letters we bring forward a few only, written by that great Englishman of whom at his death a friend said, "He has made a chasm, which not only nothing can fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up. Let us go to the next best. There is nobody; no man can be said to put you in mind of Johnson."

II

Samuel Johnson—uncouth in appearance, manner and habits —*Ursa Minor* as a fashionable wit called him—by the nobility of his character no less than by the power of his intellect, held his own amongst the literary and artistic men of his age; indeed, in spite of his eccentricities, he held undisputed sway amongst them. Adam Smith, no mean judge, once told Boswell that Johnson "knew more books than any man alive.' To one who complained to Edmund Burke that Johnson had monopolized most of an evening's conversation, Burke replied, " O now, it is enough for *me* to have rung the bell to him." Sir Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Gold-smith and a crowd of Johnson's greatest friends, would have echoed Burke's verdict. Men might laugh at the man's eccentricities and mannerisms, but they all knew that his wit and learning could surpass theirs if he troubled to exert them.

And what really bore more weight was that they knew him as a man who, living in the world and loving the world and its pleasures and wisdom, was yet at heart other-worldly. Johnson did not preach at wrongdoers, or talk religion much before others but—from the day that he found William Law's *Serious Call to a Life* "quite an overmatch" for the shallow agnosticism of his youth—he stood out before the fashionable and licentious world as a man who feared God and observed the rules and worship of the Church. His sturdy pragmatism made arguments for "free love" or the non-existence of human free-will seem very poor stuff. "All theory," he once said, "is against the freedom of the will; all experience for it." He advised Boswell, if a friend argued with him against the freedom of his will, to ask a bricklayer what he thought when one of his mates chose to steal his dinner!

As great as his hatred of cant and his love of exact truth was his great compassion for the "underdog." His conduct towards the sick and suffering can be compared with that of St. Francis or St. Vincent de Paul. It is not difficult to imagine them doing what Dr. Johnson did one evening, when returning towards his house, he found a diseased and half-starved prostitute lying in the gutter, and picked her up and carried her across his shoulders to his home, where he kept her until she was restored to strength. His friends knew him to be of this spiritual texture. They also knew, though he never talked of them, his devout observance of Good Fridays, his great humility in religious matters, his strong dislike of profane or bawdy speech. Johnson never judged others severely in these things; indeed, he sometimes spoke of his love for ill-living people; but he thought himself the chief of sinners.

III

The sluggishness of Johnson's corpulent and huge frame discouraged him from using his pen, except when duty bade him (and not always then), or to defray necessary expenses, as when he wrote *Rasselas* to cover his mother's funeral expenses. He never wrote for the sake of writing. "It is now become," he once said to Boswell, "so much the fashion to publish letters, that, in order to avoid it, I put as little into mine as I can."

But, being the most sociable of men, he could not wholly protect himself from letter-writing. The heart of London, where he met, ate, drank and talked with friends, meant more to him than all the beauties of Nature. He loved his friends—some poor, mean and unattractive—and would always serve them to the uttermost. His Social friendliness drove him sometimes to answer their letters, just as his Christian friendliness led him to be willing to pray with others, even with such mad folk as "poor Kit" Smart. He did not deliberately sit down, as John Newton did a thousand times, to write a letter to confirm another's faith; nor was he tempted to enter upon religious controversial correspondence, believing all Christians to hold the same essentials, and the difference between Christians to be nothing compared with the gap between Christians and unbelievers. But religious feelings and convictions were so natural to him that he readily spoke or wrote about them when occasion required.

So it follows that religious letters of Johnson were mostly written to those who greatly needed sympathy and compassion. In such epistles we recognize at once his great tenderness and humility in private life, qualities not so easily seen in the heat of argument or repartee. He who hardly ever wrote a letter wrote within four days three to his dying mother. In the first, he told her his distress at her condition, not because he thought her unfit to face death, but because he dreaded to lose her; he asked her to pray for him as he was praying for her. In the second (she was over ninety years of age and too ill for more than a few lines) he wrote:

> Dear honoured Mother, I fear you are too ill for a long letter; therefore I will only tell you, you have from me all the regard that can possibly subsist in the heart. I pray God to bless you for evermore, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Two days later she received this—

> Dear honoured Mother, Neither your condition nor your character make it fit for me to say much. You have been the best mother, and I believe the best woman in the world. I thank you for all your indulgence to me, and beg forgiveness of all that I have done ill, and all that I have omitted to do well. God grant you his Holy Spirit, and receive you to everlasting happiness, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen. Lord Jesus, receive your spirit. Amen.

Such filial affection recalls how, many years later, he stood for a while bare-headed in pouring rain, where at Uttoxeter his father kept an open bookstall, in contrition that once he had been ashamed to serve him there.

IV

But there was more than filial affection in these letters to his dying mother. His own persistent fear of death meant that he looked upon a person's last hours as calling more than any other time of distress for the sympathy and aid of friends. Twenty years after he wrote to his mother, he describes to a friend a visit which he paid to his mother's old servant on her death-bed:

> *Sunday, Oct.* 18, 1767. Yesterday . . . . I took leave of my dear old friend, Catherine Chambers, who came to live with my mother about 1724, and has been little parted from her since. . . . I desired all to withdraw, then told her that we were to part for ever; that as Christians, we should part with prayer; and that I would, if she was willing, say a short prayer beside her. She expressed great desire to hear me; and held up her poor hands as she lay in bed, with great fervour, while I prayed, kneeling by her, nearly in the following words: " Almighty and most merciful Father, whose lovingkindness is over all thy works, behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant, who is grieved with sickness. Grant that the sense of her weakness may add strength to her faith, and seriousness to her repentance. And grant that by the help of thy Holy Spirit, after the pains and labours of this short life, we may all obtain everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for whose sake hear our prayers. Amen. Our Father etc."
>
> I then kissed her. She told me, that to part was the greatest pain that she ever felt, and that she hoped we should meet again in a better place. I expressed, with swelled eyes, and great expression of tenderness, the same hopes. We kissed and parted. I humbly hope to meet again, and to part no more.

His own fear of death did not spring from dread of pain. He was always fearless of pain or danger. His horror of dying came from the sense of his sinfulness before the aweful holiness of God. Mrs. Thrale has told us that he could not repeat in the *Dies Irae* the line *Tantus labor non sit cassus* without bursting into a flood of tears. If he could help a fellow-man to face God's judgement with peace of mind, he felt called to do so.

This probably accounted for the great interest and pains which he took on behalf of a criminal called Dodd, one of the king's chaplains-in-ordinary, whose debts, incurred through dissolute living, led him to forge Lord Chesterfield's signature. For this he was condemned to death. Johnson wrote for him a letter of appeal to the king, and even a sermon (or part of it) to preach to his fellow-convicts in Newgate, When the appeal failed, Johnson wrote to the unhappy clergyman (in reply to an effusive grateful letter from him) as follows:

> Dear Sir,—That which is appointed to all men is now coming upon you. Outward circumstances, the eyes and the thoughts of men, are below the notice of an immortal about to stand the trial for eternity, before the supreme Judge of heaven and earth. Be comforted; your crime, morally or religiously considered, has no very deep dye of turpitude. It corrupted no man's principles; it attacked no man's life. It involved only a temporary and reparable injury. Of this, and of all other sins, you are earnestly to repent; and may God, who knoweth our frailty, and desireth not our death, accept your repentance, for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.
>
> In requital of those well intended offices which you are pleased emphatically to acknowledge, let me beg you that you make in your devotions one petition for my eternal welfare.
>
> I am, dear Sir, Your most affectionate Servant,
>
> Sam. Johnson.

The language and subscription of his letter illustrate what we have already noticed of Johnson's charity, humility, compassion and solicitude for a soul awaiting death.

V

He was probably the more moved for this unhappy priest because, in an age which easily condoned lack of spirituality in the clergy, he ever held a high respect for the priestly office, and a sympathetic outlook towards those called to exercise it. He declared that a conscientious clergyman was father of a larger family than he could support, and that he did not envy the man who made his pastoral life an easy one. He would agree with John Newton's *Cardiphonia* dictum that "a parish is an awful millstone to those who see nothing valuable in the flock but the fleece."

There is a letter of Johnson (extraordinarily long for him) to a young priest who had described to him his newly-acquired benefice and its work:

> You are afraid of falling into some improprieties in the daily service by reading it to an audience that requires no exactness. Your fear, I hope, secures you from danger. They who contract absurd habits are such as have no fear.

A very little care, he adds, would suffice to avoid mannerisms in public reading. He commends his correspondent for preaching other men's sermons (we remember here that Sir Roger de Coverley provided his parson with volumes of contemporary well-known sermons for that purpose); but, Johnson adds:

> My advice, however, is that you attempt, from time to time, an original sermon; and in the labour of composition, do not burden your mind with too much at once; do not exact from yourself, at one effort of excogitation, propriety of thought and elegance of expression. Invent first, and then embellish. The production of something, where nothing was before, is an act of greater energy than the expansion or decoration of the thing produced. . . . The composition of sermons is not very difficult; the divisions not only help the memory of the hearer, but direct the judgement of the writer: they supply sources of invention, and keep every part in its proper place.
>
> What I like least in your letter is your account of the manners of your parish; from which I gather, that it has been long neglected by the parson. The Dean of Carlisle, who was then a little rector in Northamptonshire, told me, that it might be discerned whether or no there was a clergyman resident in a parish, by the civil or savage manners of the people . . . My learned friend, Dr Wheeler, of Oxford, when he was a young man, had the care of a neighbouring parish for fifteen pounds a year, which he was never paid; but he counted it a convenience, that it compelled him to make a sermon weekly. One woman he could not bring to the communion; and when he reproved or exhorted her, she only answered, that she was no scholar. He was advised to get some good woman or man of the parish, a little wiser than herself, to talk to her in a language level to her mind. Such honest, I may call them holy, artifices, must be practised by every clergyman; for all means must be tried by which souls may be saved. Talk to your people, however, as much as you can; and you will find, that the more frequently you converse with them upon religious subjects, the more willingly they will attend, and the more submissively they will learn. A clergyman's diligence always makes him venerable.

I can imagine George Herbert's spirit kindling with approval if he could be reading Johnson's words over his shoulder as he wrote such words.

VI

I cannot refrain from ending this article with quotations from two letters—still spiritual in import—*about* Johnson, and illustrating the tenderness of his religion. Both were written by Hannah More (1745-1833)—a society lady, wit, play-writer, friend of such notabilities as Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson and William Wilberforce. After describing how Johnson had attended " a very choice party " at Bishop Shipley's, she continues:

> Johnson came to see us the next morning, and made a long visit. . . . He reproved me with pretended sharpness for reading Les Pensées de Pascal or any of the Port-Royal writers; alleging that, as a good Protestant, I ought to abstain from books written by Catholics. I was beginning to stand upon my defence, when he took me with both hands, and with a tear running down his cheeks, " Child ", said he, with the most affecting earnestness, " I am heartily glad that you read pious books, by whomsoever they may be written ".

Miss More's second letter describes characteristic acts of Johnson shortly before his death:

> Mr. Pepys wrote me a very kind letter on the death of Johnson. . . . Dr Brocklesby, his physician, was with him. He said to him a little while before he died, " Doctor, you are a worthy man, and my friend, but I am afraid you are not a Christian; what can I do better for you than offer up for you in your presence a prayer to the great God that you may become a Christian in my sense of the word?" Instantly he fell upon his knees, and put up a fervent prayer: when he got up he caught hold of his hand with great earnestness, and cried, " Doctor, you do not say, Amen ". The doctor looked foolish, but after a pause cried " Amen ". Johnson said, " My dear doctor, believe a dying man, there is no salvation but in the sacrifice of the Lamb of God; go home, write down my prayer, and every word I have said, and bring it to me to-morrow ". Brocklesby did so. A friend desired he would make his will, and as Hume in his last moments had made an impious declaration of his opinions, he thought it might counteract the poison if Johnson would make a public confession of his faith in his will. He said he would, seized the pen with great earnestness, and asked what was the usual form of beginning a will. His friend told him. After the usual form he wrote, " I offer up my soul to the great and merciful God; I offer it full of pollution, but in full assurance that it will be cleansed in the blood of my Redeemer ". And for some time he wrote on with the same vigour and spirit as if he had been in perfect health. When he expressed some of his former dread of dying, Sir John said, " If you, doctor, have these fears, what is to become of me and others?" " Oh, sir ", said he, " I have written piously, it is true; but I lived too much like other men ".

In his sayings and letters Johnson, who eschewed cant in all its forms, found no place for minimising death's fearfulness. The only resource with which to meet death courageously was the atonement of Christ's Passion, appealing to God Who, supremely holy, was also supremely merciful. In one of his *Idler* essays he wrote:

> Real alleviation of the loss of friends, and rational tranquillity in the prospect of our own dissolution, can be received only through the promises of Him in whose hands are life and death, and from the assurance of a better state, in which all tears shall be wiped from the eyes, and the whole soul will be filled with joy.

Writing later in life to a friend who had recently lost his wife, he said, after describing his own desolation after "Tetty's" death:

> Our first recourse in this distressed solitude is, perhaps, for want of habitual piety, to a gloomy acquiescence in necessity. Of two mortal beings, one must lose the other; but surely there is a higher comfort to be drawn from the consideration of that Providence which watches over all, and a belief that the living and the dead are equally in the hands of God, who will reunite those whom he has separated; or who sees that it is best not to reunite.

As to his own future after death, he took some courage from the doctrine of purgatory, which sprang, he said, from the belief that "the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to merit being admitted into the company of blessed spirits, and therefore God is graciously pleased to allow of a middle state, where they may be purified by certain degrees of suffering." He added: "If it be once established that there are souls in purgatory, it is as proper to pray for *them*, as for our brethen of mankind who are yet in this life."

In his written prayers concerning his dead wife, we find him praying that, if permitted, she might still in some way minister to him, that he might be forgiven any sins committed against her, and, lastly, more definitely for her soul thus:

> O Lord, so far as it may be lawful for me, I commend to thy fatherly goodness the soul of my departed wife; beseeching thee to grant her whatever is best in her present state, and finally to receive her into everlasting happiness.

When he himself, after fearing death so greatly, slipped away quietly in mid-sleep into the life beyond, his friends must have felt that to the everlasting mercy they could hopefully commend one who had lived so persistently in the loving fear of God and in a great tenderness towards his fellow-men.

THE INTELLECTUAL ELEMENT IN UNBELIEF

By K. G. COLLIER

THE sources of religious unbelief are not of course exclusively intellectual; in fact they are probably largely social. But in an age when science has developed as far as it now has, the intellectual elements in belief, and in experience generally, tend to become the focus of attention and therefore to require special consideration.

Religion is an activity of man that is concerned with his response to life as a whole, or to some major aspect of it. Men tend to build up a picture of the universe they experience, to respond with certain feelings or attitudes towards the universe so pictured, and to regard certain actions as appropriate or obligatory in relation to it. In using the phrase " the universe they experience " I want to convey the idea that people living in different kinds of civilization may experience very different universes. For the primitive food-gatherer the " universe of his experience " may be the limited world where he is utterly dependent on nature, hemmed in by flood and drought and wild beasts; for him the major aspects of life are birth and death, initiation and marriage, getting food and defending himself against the threats that surround him.

Von Hügel[1] insists on the element of obligation. Religion, he says, " is authoritative and absolute. What constitutes religion is not simply to hold a view and to try to live a life, with respect to the Unseen and the Deity . . . but precisely that which is over and above this — the holding this view and this life to proceed somehow from God Himself, so as to bind my innermost mind and conscience to unhesitating assent. Not simply that I think it, but that, in addition, I feel bound to think it, transforms a thought about God into a religious act." The distinction is a matter of definition; but it is an important point to bear in mind.

Religions vary widely. In a primitive society men see the world as inhabited and moved by spirits, good or evil; towards these spirits, and the objects associated with them, they respond with awe, that is fear and submission, as towards some power much greater than themselves which may or may not be friendly towards them; and they feel obliged to carry out certain rituals or patterns of action. The picture of the world is expressed, not in a logical construction but in a set of myths — that is, stories which directly express or symbolize one or other aspect of the interpretation. The idea of myth has come in for a good deal of discussion. Certain points need to be stressed here.

Kelsen[2] points out that the myths of primitive tribes contain two universal elements. First, they are concerned with "duties", with what people "ought" to do; and second, they contain some reference to retribution, to reward and punishment. He quotes, for example, the following Kaffir story:

The hero, Sikulume, evades the pursuit of several cannibals by daubing a stone with fat; the cannibals smell the fat and quarrel for the stone; one of them swallows it, whereupon the others eat their companion. This is repeated several times, until the cannibals break their teeth in biting the stone, which they regard, by virtue of magic, as something special, and desist from their pursuit of Sikulume.

The story is, amongst other things, a dramatization of certain values of the community and the struggle to conform to them. Cannibalism is forbidden among the Kaffirs, but owing to tradition or to neighbouring custom it is still a temptation. The breaking of the taboo brings retribution in its train, in two forms: the hero tricks the cannibals and brings about the death of some of them; and some force operating behind the scenes shapes the pattern of events in such a way as to reward good and punish evil.

What this implies is that the events of nature are seen as the actions of beings similar to men, desiring, willing, fighting, angry, pleased, and so on. Some primitive people will try to frighten off the spirit of the thunderstorms by threatening it with a sword[3]. If a man is killed in an accident, the event is thought to be caused by some spirit acting or by some human being using magic.[4] The explanation of the belief seems to be that men project their own feelings, and other experiences, into nature; they read into all events desires and intentions similar to their own; they interpret those events in terms of their own experience. This is not a deliberate, conscious, intellectual undertaking; it is rather a spontaneous act of the imagination in which the intelligence plays a necessary but intuitive part.

One essential component of man's experience is his sense of obligation, the sense that he "ought" to do certain things and not do others. That is, he possesses a something which we may variously refer to as his conscience or his super-ego. This he projects into the chiefs and other authorities of the community, and also into the forces of nature. He therefore sees the forces of nature as like himself, in having desire and will; and also as unlike himself, in being far greater than himself, i.e., as invisible authorities. Here, then, is the psychological basis of religion: for towards these unseen authorities he responds with awe and from them he derives the chief sanction for the values and rituals upheld by his tribe. The practice of the cult is often the main vehicle by which the other elements of religion are communicated from one generation to the next; but without the implicit interpretation the cult dies.

What, then, is the place of intelligence in the psychological processes? This can be conveniently illustrated by tracing certain stages in the development of Greek religion.

With the Greeks of the fifth century B.C. we find the element of retribution, of reward for good actions and punishment for evil, similarly fundamental to their picture of the Olympic gods. These gods, however, reflect the relatively highly developed society of the Homeric period: the concept of retribution is developing into the idea of justice; the scale of values by which good and evil are judged is closer to ours; the grasp of natural processes and the understanding of human behaviour are much more acute. The ways in which the Greeks and the Trojans get the rewards and punishments for their actions are much closer to reality than the course of events in the Kaffir legend I quoted just now.

As Athenian society moves to the climax of its development in the middle of the fifth century, the rule of an arbitrary military leader gives way to that of a group. This oligarchy reflects a wider distribution of power in the society and represents a new conception: of the reign of a general law over the rulers themselves. Correspondingly in Aeschylus we see the first explicit suggestion that Zeus himself might be subject to some more powerful law, of Destiny, or Fate, or Necessity.[5] With Euripides the personal, almost human character of Fate gives way to an impersonal indeflectible principle, a nature moved by an inevitable law of causality.

With Plato we find the principles of man's psychological or spiritual development enunciated with extraordinary clarity and insight, in the form almost of causal, scientific, laws and fused with the concept of a final judgement in a future life. The world-view he presents, then, implies a moral authority of the highest order, yet having no personal quality; a response of loving devotion to truth and beauty; and a code of behaviour of extreme nobility.

The function of the intelligence in this development has been threefold: first, to understand natural processes, including the working of the human mind; second, to clarify the implications and contradictions of different values; and third, to re-interpret and re-create the myths traditionally handed down; that is, to re-interpret the universe in terms of changing social and moral experience.

The first of these is an empirical undertaking, similar in important ways to the job of science. That is, the intelligence is used for finding *regularities in natural processes.* The very primitive tribe does not understand the connexion between sex and childbirth; but with time and the accumulation of insight an active human society becomes able to discern and analyse many such regularities or laws. So the more gifted thinker comes to be able to see and formulate the enormously complex and subtle processes of psychological change and growth. But the methods of science are not available, and therefore there is no possibility of *establishing* the laws or regularities discovered.

The second function of the intelligence is analytical and logical —to explore the implications of, for example, a valuation for justice, as Plato did in the *Republic*: the contradiction between the demand for justice and the demand for personal power or pleasure.

The third function of the intelligence is not empirical or analytical, but creative. As in the case of the primitive myth, it transfers ideas from personal and social experience to the interpretation of the universe as a whole; but in a developing society, with increasing stability and security of material existence, moral and social experience develops and this new experience comes to be read into the old myths. I can illustrate this process conveniently from the Old Testament. The stories of early Genesis are found in various ancient mythologies; but in Genesis they are re-cast in terms of certain fundamental conceptions. These are, first, that the universe was deliberately created by a God; second, that this God is good and regarded his creations as good; third, that man has a special relation to God, radically different from that of any other animal: God made him in his own image; and fourth, that man had by his own action cut himself off from God. In short, the fundamental moral experience of the writer of Genesis in terms of which he interprets the universe—or, if you like, which he projects on to the universe—is profoundly different from that which was the basis of the original creation myths, or from that of the Greek tribes which believed in Zeus and his family, or from that of the Kaffir tribe I quoted earlier. Similarly, at a later stage we see questions of social justice prompting Amos to develop the idea of God significantly further; and Hosea's personal experience of a faithless wife bringing out the idea of God's love for his faithless people. It is important, of course, to recognize that only within a tradition nourished on certain moral experiences and certain conceptions of the nature of the universe was it possible for men like Amos or Hosea to respond in the way they did to the events of their lives.

What I am suggesting, then, is that the third function of the intelligence in the religious sphere is to interpret the universe, and that it does so by projecting its own deepest experiences on to the universe and expressing the picture in the form of myths. This, I repeat, is not in most people an " intellectual " process, conscious, rational, and explicit, but a matter of intuition, implicit and unrationalized. The " spirit " or " god " is *seen in* the thunderstorm, read directly into it.

In putting forward this view I am not begging the question in regard to the *truth* of the myth, or the possibility of God's inspiration of Amos and Hosea. What I am suggesting is that certain kinds of experience lead men to interpret the universe in terms of certain pictures or stories; and these pictures and stories embodied in a society's tradition tend to make the individuals of the society more responsive both to moral experiences of the same kind as generated the myths, and also to further experiences and ideas in tune with those of the tradition. But I will go further and suggest that certain fundamental moral experiences are more in accordance with the true ends or satisfactions of man than others—the experience of justice, for example, or of obedience to a particular conception of the good life despite obstacles and temptations. In addition I would claim that, in interpreting the universe in accordance with those experiences rather than others, man forms a truer picture of the universe. If, then, the Hebrews' picture of a universe created by a good God is true, it follows that men who believe in this God and respond with an appropriate attitude may put themselves in a state of mind that can hear and respond to the still small voice itself. By contrast, the traditional belief in force and power that characterized a certain section of German society from the mid-eighteenth century prepared a receptive psychological soil for the adoption of a certain world-view, represented roughly at different stages of its development by Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche and Hitler. The combination of world-view and moral experience made Germans belonging to this tradition ready to respond to the situation of 1918 to 1932 by listening, not to the still small voice of a good God but to the demands of their own bitterness and resentment.

So much, then, for the part played by the intelligence in the development of religious belief. Let me turn now to the roots of unbelief.

Let me start with the Middle Ages. Here we have an agrarian society believing in a loving God, regarding the trials and troubles of life as deriving from his providence, believing in the validity of certain values and standards of conduct. Since medieval society was extremely dependent on the forces of nature, the Christian myths that were generally accepted included crude and violent pictures of hell-fire: the ferocity of nature in a society that is still rather insecure in regard to food and shelter, naturally induces such myths.

But in the later Middle Ages town life was breeding a middle class that was steadily becoming less directly dependent on nature: you have only to read Trevelyan's account of the plans made by the lady of a manor in the fifteenth century to see how far the organization of society and accumulation of capital had gone towards making people independent of the vagaries of nature:

> The household requirements could not in those days be met by hasty "shopping". Everything that could not be supplied by the estate must be ordered in the requisite quantities months beforehand—wines of France, sugar grown in the Mediterranean, spices, pepper, oranges, dates, and the better kinds of cloth. It was the lady's business to make these provident calculations of coming needs and to see that orders were placed with solid merchants of the county capital or more often in London . . . . As to house produce, the preparation, curing and storing of the meal, meat and game off the estate and the fish from the ponds, besides the command of the dairy, the brew house and the

kitchen, were all under the supervision of the lady chatelaine. Much of the clothing, too, of the inmates was spun and woven, cut out and made up in the house under the lady's orders.[6]

These conditions in part were created by, in part created, the characters of individual initiative and enterprise that have marked the middle classes in most countries and have been the basis of the individualism of recent Western civilization. These qualities have been encouraged by the Christian emphasis on the value of the individual soul, and have been accompanied by a spirit of independence and a tendency to reject authority.

The scientific revolution of the seventeenth century culminated in the work of Newton, which co-ordinated on an immense scale the evidence for the *invariability* of the regularities of natural processes. This idea fell into minds well prepared to receive it; for the technical development of civilization was now so far advanced that any educated town-dweller had constant experience of the regularity of natural processes in all the trivial details of daily life—the behaviour of materials, of bricks and mortar, of the clothes he wore, the lights he used at night, the fuel he burned, the food his wife cooked, and so on. And so the conception of mechanical or automatic laws of nature took hold of thinking men's minds in the eighteenth century and God began to recede into the background of a world that ran like a machine. Here we see a process corresponding exactly to what we have already seen taking place in more primitive minds: the transference of an idea from concrete personal experience to the universe at large.

Despite this experience, however, and despite the movement of ideas towards a mechanical interpretation of the universe, there was a remarkable resurgence of Christian belief in this country in the nineteenth century. To a considerable extent this was a response to the terrors of the French Revolution, and to the horrors of the early industrial revolution in our own new cities of the North and Midlands.

During this very period, however, science and technology were growing faster than ever, and when the creative surge of the religious movements abated at the end of the nineteenth century the mechanistic interpretation came in with a bump.

Apart from the constantly deepening experience of life in a technological society the main intellectual influences were, first, the geologists' discovery of the great age of the earth and its long slow development; second, Darwin's announcement of the facts of biological evolution; and third, the expansion of deterministic psychologies at the end of the century, with Freud's as the most subversive. During the present century we have seen this same type of psychology enormously expanded; a similar pattern of interpretation worked out for the processes of change of whole societies and civilizations; and the application of the most destructive forms of professional scientific doubt to the problems of philosophy.

At the present time, I believe, by far the most important intellectual influence tending towards unbelief is the assumption that every event that occurs is part of a natural process governed by a law of the kind that science investigates. This is more than a merely intellectual proposition; it is a deeply felt presupposition which colours the educated sceptic's whole interpretation of reality and of the events of his life.[7] It is to be interpreted in the same light as a myth: it is the projection on to reality as a whole of a vivid idea derived from common experience. It is in consequence not necessarily susceptible to disproof by evidence. Let us imagine a patient suffering from paranoia or persecution mania who thinks his wife is trying to poison him slowly. If he has a pain he thinks the poison is beginning to work, and if he feels well he thinks she is merely using all the more diabolical subtlety in trying to get rid of him. The assumption itself determines what type of explanation is felt to ring true, and hence the evidence is fitted to the explanation rather than the explanation to the evidence.

Now the implications of this sort of assumption are two: the impossibility of miracles and the unreality of a transcendent God. These are the basic characteristics of the irreligion of our time. The thoughtful modern sceptic is not necessarily a determinist, but his habitual interpretation of events in terms of scientific law makes it impossible for him to see Providence operating in his own life; makes it fantastic or unreal to see the hand of God at work in what happens to him.

People of this persuasion are often prepared to admit the existence of some spirit having a likeness to the human spirit but not having the nature of a self-existing being that preceded the existence of matter. We can distinguish two main variations in this picture. One admits some vaguely personal or moral quality in the spirit of the universe, which gives it the appearance of a well-meaning, struggling, conscientious, rather pathetic life-force. The other denies any personal quality to this being and accordingly empties it of all moral quality.

If, therefore, we analyse this world-view on the threefold definition of religion that I started with, we see that, in regard to the general picture of the universe, the element of a demanding controlling mind or consciousness has evaporated, and there is therefore no compelling moral power in the universe. Consequently, in so far as any attitude or response is occasioned, or any particular form of behaviour of action prompted, it is not *demanded*. There is no binding force or sanction to say we *ought* to search for truth or love our neighbour, or anything else. It may seem to civilized people living in a peaceable society that truth is an obvious value; but there is nothing beyond the individual experience or the weight of tradition to *insist* on it. Some of the biologists maintain that the direction of evolution offers a sanction for certain kinds of value; but the fact is that only a personal force can assert a moral obligation: *no fact in itself* can call for any particular moral response.

The consequence of this interpretation of the universe is that the whole weight of moral control is thrown on individual experience and community tradition: certain values *may* be absolute, but there is no sanction for them beyond what particular individuals or communities are able to perceive. But this fact has a certain fascination for modern people: we like the sense of emancipation from what we cannot readily understand and accept. We do not like submitting to an authority that we cannot check up on. We do not want to be *bound* by it. We may not agree with Von Hügel in including this sense of a binding duty in our definition of religion, but we can see that the rejection of it is characteristic of modern irreligion. The attitude is in fact characteristic of twentieth-century man, particularly in the English-speaking countries, and it is the heart of one of those deep moral experiences which can revolutionize our world-view without our knowing it has happened. I suggest that the desire for social emancipation, the value for the exercise of personal judgement, is intimately connected with the re-distribution of political and economic power in the modern world: the revolution in social structure has been brought about by, and has enormously encouraged, the desire for emancipation. This value has in turn been transferred to our picture of the universe and dissolved away the notions of power and authority from our idea of God.

If this account is true, it is natural to ask ourselves what are the conditions under which the modern sceptic may be induced to regard the reality of a transcendent God as a serious possibility. Since the building-up of an interpretation is not primarily a conscious and rational affair, so we cannot expect our reply to be exclusively a matter of argument. Nevertheless we must inquire first, what sort of reasons can be advanced for believing in a transcendent personal reality? There are two approaches to the question.

The first line of argument runs: certain events occur—such as a dead body coming to life—which could *never* be explained by science. Therefore something intrudes into the natural order from beyond or outside it. One particular event of this kind, the Resurrection of Christ, gives an authenticity to Christ's words and points to the existence of a personal God.

The second line of argument is more or less the reverse: the personality of Christ as revealed in his teachings and actions as something unique, so extravagantly unique as to make us feel he was divine in some sense impossible to other men. *Hence* we believe in his doctrine of a loving Father, and in his resurrection.

There has been a swing towards this latter view in the twentieth century. Personally I hold that it is inadequate. I would say its spread is due precisely to the assumption about the impossibility of the miraculous which I have mentioned, which has contributed to a general reluctance to believe in the sort of God who would perform miracles. Its weakness is that it offers insufficient sanction to those who do not possess the moral insight to recognize the uniqueness of Christ as overwhelming. Christ's words themselves seem to support this view: Believe me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very works' sake.

Besides, there are many good individuals who respond to Christ's sacrifice and devotion without believing in the rigour of his commandments and prohibitions. I am in whole-hearted agreement with C. S. Lewis's opinion that we need to believe in a "choosing, commanding, prohibiting God with a determinate character"; for everybody needs to feel that certain values or ethical precepts are absolute. It is true that a deep attachment to

Christ as person and to Christ on the Cross will induce a correspondingly deep sense of obligation to follow his commandments. Yet it also remains true that for most of us our love for Christ is in itself not sufficiently deep or dependable to do without an independent obligation.

We can distinguish three main sanctions for such obligation: individual experience; community tradition; and a world-view that includes some sort of deity. In the details of everyday life the general tradition of a community and the personal experience of the individual are probably dominating influences; yet the intellectual element, the picture of the universe, is of enormous long-term importance in moulding social tradition and personal experience; and indeed, as we have seen, the world-view and the social experience profoundly influence each other. But in the twentieth century, with the advance of science, a picture of the universe has to be built on evidence, which must be judged, not on moral intuitions but on intellectual criteria. In short, although a certain kind of moral experience may be needed for a man to be able to appreciate a certain type of evidence, I feel strongly that the nature of miracle and the evidence for particular miracles is a vital question for modern Christians to face.

In a nutshell, then, my argument is that modern scepticism is due to the interpretatiton of the world and its events in terms of two of the dominant experiences of our modern technical civilization. The first of these is the regularity of the processes on which this kind of civilization is built; the second is the desire for individual emancipation and the dislike of obedience to an absolute authority. Both experiences tend to be projected or read into reality as a whole, thus determining the kind of explanation that is felt to be "real". They are not, therefore, directly susceptible to evidence. In meeting such a situation, therefore, there is a need on the one hand for a more thorough analysis of the relation between miracle and scientific law; and on the other for a more concerted effort on the part of Christians to communicate their way of interpreting events by the sort of infection that springs from personal example and mutual trust. Possibly the moral and social experience engendered by the threats of Communism and national bankruptcy, which have already stimulated some leading agnostic thinkers to declare certain values to be absolute, may offer the right setting for a return to Christian belief.

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[1] F. Von Hügel: *The Mystical Element of Religion* Vol. 1.

[2] H. Kelsen: *Society and Nature*, p. 119. (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1946).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 34.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 300.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 206. *cf.* G. Thomson: *Aeschylus and Athens* (Lawrence and Wishart 1941).

[6] G. M. Trevelyan: *English Social History*, p. 70 (Longmans Green 1942).

[7] K. G. Collier: The Impact of Science on the Western view of life. *Hibbert Journal*, January 1949.

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE WELFARE STATE

By MAURICE B. RECKITT*

THE easiest—perhaps the only—way of preventing the discussion of this subject from becoming distinctly tedious is to allow oneself to be led from the plane of reality into the language of hyperbole. The alternatives before one are only too obvious—and in moments of weakness only too alluring. Either one may exalt this rather desperate effort to snatch security out of a civilization as essentially *in*secure perhaps as any in history and present it as the upshot of an unparalleled crystallization of community consciousness and social altruism. Or one may stigmatize its fabricated benevolence as a particularly slippery slope on this unhappy century's descent to the totalitarian Avernus. To suggest—as I must, however regretfully, do—that it is certainly not the one, and need never become the other is, I am afraid, to forfeit all hope of arousing any enthusiasm or even of provoking any lively antagonism. Perhaps the worst thing we can say about the Welfare State is that we have no business to get excited about it. From which declaration only too many are likely to deduce that the Welfare State is hardly worth bothering about, and is just one more of those things as to which—in the revolting jargon of to-day (or is it now yesterday ?)—one, legitimately enough, " couldn't care less."

Yet in fact the Christian had less right than other people to refuse to bother himself about the problems surrounding the Welfare State. For it is Christian sentiment and a Christianly-inspired moral energy which, whether we like the upshot of it all or not, have been principally responsible for bringing this phenomenon into being. No doubt we may be tempted to feel as we look upon it as I expect that many a parent—or at any rate many a father—feels when he looks upon his first offspring: " Good heavens, am I really responsible for *this* ? " But the paternity cannot, I think, in this instance be denied, though it may be established from two quite distinct sets of considerations. One of these, at which I have already hinted, is obvious enough: the Christian conscience, ready (as only too often) to anaesthetise itself as thoroughly and for as long as possible, became about a century ago unable to stand the spectacle presented as the outcome of a purely secularist economics any longer. Confronted by the worldly wisdom of the witch doctors of the period, whom they knew as Political Economists, Christian prophets perceived the challenge and accepted it. It was no use telling men like Shaftesbury and Maurice and Ludlow and Scott Holland that the life of the newly urbanised masses in Britain between about 1780 and 1880 was what Providence intended it to be, and that any interference with the process was at once impious and futile. However little they may have known about economics, they knew more about Providence than that. It is perhaps true that, challenging with an enthusiastic affirmative the most ancient of all attempted exculpations—" Am I my brother's keeper ? ", the more zealous promoters of social welfare, most of whom for many decades were (or thought of themselves as) Christians, have too often been led to stress the role of keeper rather than the relationship of brother. The social worker again has too frequently acted on the dangerous suggestion of the poet and " learnt the luxury of doing good "—one of those luxuries, when exemplified as conscious benevolence, in which the Christian at any rate has but a very dubious right to indulge. " Communism," said Berdyaev, " is what Capitalism rots away into." Perhaps a chilly bureaucracy is what patronizing benevolence rots away into. To each of these the human person and the little society of the family may all too easily cease to be ends in themselves and become the instrument of a social purpose, well intentioned yet wholy external.

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* This paper was read at the Pusey House, Oxford.

This consideration leads to reflections upon the other, the negative, yet not less significant aspect of the Christian responsibility for the Welfare State. Can we doubt that had the Church maintained her moral and intellectual and cultural leadership through those crucial centuries in which the modern world was born; had the rise of capitalism been met and matched by a rising of organized religion to the height of its social responsibility—had this happened, the social and industrial evolution of the last two centuries would not have confronted us with many of those problems which the Welfare State has been, as much by accident as by design, brought into being to tackle. Whatever may be our "idea of a Christian Society," it must—dare we say it will?—be conspicuously a responsible Society, generating its own incentives and having, as it were, its own moral momentum at the heart of it. "Welfare" in any fundamental sense will be integral to it, it will not have to be consciously injected into it like a sort of serum to immunise it from its inherent toxins. Well, however this may be, that is not the sort of world we are living in now; and there is nothing particularly "unworldly" (as some good people seem to think) in proclaiming how Christianly one would have been prepared to act if one had first been given a Christian world to act in. The Faith is (as they say now) nothing if not "existential"; it demands that we act where we are. And perhaps some of those who are—in Christian accents—most apt to be superior about the Welfare State might usefully reflect that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, and that if the Church failed the world before, we must attempt now what reparation we may.

One may describe the Welfare State as a community in which a combination of the social conscience and the need for general security has constrained authority to undertake on behalf of the great majority organization for health and wellbeing which those in a position to do so normally prefer to arrange for themselves. If this description is even approximately accurate, it may have some value in disposing of the fanciful illusions that have been woven round this subject from both sides. I think that most of us tend to form our opinions about the Welfare State much less upon any objective assessment of it in terms of the contemporary situation, than in relation to the sort of sociological ideal which happens most to appeal to us. I have referred already to that rose-tinted view of our social services which sees their development as the consequence of an upsurge of community consciousness and the conviction that the more we do together the happier—or any rate the healthier—we shall be. There *is* of course some truth in this, and so far as it goes it is on the whole a heartening truth. But it is only a part of the whole truth, and not perhaps the most important part. In fact, many of the measures by which the Welfare State has been laboriously instituted came about under the pressure of something like necessity, or as Mr. Philip Mairet said recently in *The Frontier*, as a result of "prudent calculation of what it had become dangerous not to do"

—dangerous not necessarily, or I think primarily, because of any fear of social upheaval, but because of the consequences to the health and efficiency of our "con-urbanised" masses if things were left to drift any longer. To realize this, Mr. Mairet adds, "is a corrective of moral complacency. The State has been forced to undertake what the people would not, or could no longer, do for themselves. Nevertheless (he continues) the particular ways in which the State, with popular assent, has responded to these necessities have been chosen by free decision in the light of humane and social ideals." I agree about the ideals, but I am not quite so sure about the "free decision." The evolution of the Welfare State has exhibited a good deal of the quasi-deterministic character which is so marked a feature of modern life in the professedly "free democracies," and this has influenced not only ends but means. It often looks as if the Welfare State and its institutions represent the only way in which societies based at once on civil liberties and a predominantly property-less population can function at all, and that no alternative is open to us without a radical transformation of the economic and industrial presuppositions on which, however unconsciously, our social structure rests.

This brings us to the opposite point of view about the Welfare State which really posits the unspoken, and generally unrealized question—is this "necessity" really necessary? The more violent critic of the framework and operation of our social services is in fact reluctant to admit this, though he may be so for very varying reasons. He may have faith in the sufficiency of a substantially "untrammelled" private enterprise, buttressed by privately organized charitable organizations, to distribute enough "prosperity" to secure that the masses will be able to maintain what is vaguely described as "a reasonable standard of life." Or he may pin his faith to the possibility, within the modern context, of some form of what has come to be known as a "distributist" society. But more commonly, I think, our critic does not approach the problem in any very constructive spirit. It is the menace of the thing he is opposing which obsesses him; the dangers it represents to the fundamental values of civilization; the responsibility of the person, the autonomy of the family unit, the vital need for a society in which power is so distributed that no one element in it, and least of all the ubiquitous "state" and its irresistible agents, can extinguish the initiative of the others. In some cases the menace is presented as involving theological issues. There is a powerful statement of this point of view in Dr. Casserley's challenging book, *The Retreat of Christianity in the Modern World*:—

> " Even in democratic countries " (Dr. Casserley writes), " the so-caled welfare state is increasingly experienced as a kind of secular substitute for divine providence and mercy . . . [True] the pseudo-divinity of the modern state is perhaps not so much a divinity which it has arrogantly unsurped as a divinity thrust upon it by masses of insecure and frustrated people, insistently demanding some powerful and venerable object of faith and trust. [But] let us make no mistake about it in our own minds, the veneration of the state, the habit of trusting the state in and for all things, the state's monopoly of power, patronage and loyalty, the claim which it makes upon our economic resources, our thoughts and our leisure-time, these things, even though the state in question is of the democratic welfare kind, are the mortal foes of Christianity."

No doubt they would be, did they exist here to the extent that Dr. Casserley declares them to do. But of the picture as a whole I am tempted to quote some lines familiar probably to most of us since childhood:—

And is it True ? It is not True.
And if it were it wouldn't do,
For people such as me and you
Who pretty nearly all day long
Are doing something rather wrong.

By which I mean something like this. First I do not find among any class any alarming degree of " veneration of the State," still less any habit of trusting it " in and for all things." I think the mass of our people tend rather to regard the state and its officers as " they " who more often do things to " us " than for " us." If they depend too much upon its benevolence—which is not the aspect of it most evident to most of them—it is largely because for generations they have lived within an economic system which has given them little opportunity to accumulate any private resources to depend upon. If Health and Education and even Motherhood have come to be for them public and external things rather than the private and personal things which most men and women have always instinctively felt them to be, this is not because a servile population bows down in passive adulation of the idol of civil power. It is for a very different reason. Mr. Daniel Jenkins put the matter succinctly in the course of a thoughtful article in a recent number of *The Frontier* when he said, " it is against the totalitarian claims of industry that the sharpest fight for freedom has to be fought." It is more than a little unrealistic for members of a middle-class, under the predominance of whose values modern industrialism has been built up, to turn round upon the nation's administrators who have been called in to repair the social, and to some extent the moral, ravages of this immensely potent development and accuse them of totalitarianism. And secondly, if the arraignment were true " it wouldn't do, for people such as me and you," so far as we are beneficiaries or even passive accessories of this process, to become morally indignant about it, since many of us, if we are honest with ourselves, must feel that for pretty nearly two centuries long industrial Britain has been " doing something rather wrong." Something at any rate not so wholly right, judged by the standards of a Christian sociology, that we can make a Christian " judgment " upon it which exculpates ourselves and places the blame for what we fear firmly upon a " pseudo-divinity," which is indeed so " pseudo " that it is hard to say where its votaries are in fact to be found.

An editorial in a recent number of *Blackfriars* hit the nail on the head when it described the Welfare State as " a faithful commentary on the essential insecurity of the world we know." We must learn to live with it since we cannot at present live without it. For the Christian the main problem it poses arises from the tensions involved—as I think inevitably—at this point in our social development between organised solicitude for the weak on the one hand, and the need for the preservation of responsibility as a *sine qua non* of a truly human social order on the other. It is precisely those who are most clearly aware of this tension, and of the inescapable character of both the elements of it, who will best be able to see society through this phase of our history, perhaps a more transitory one than it is commonly assumed to be. In what remains to be said I shall offer in broad outline some suggestions as to how we, as Christians, can most profitably make an impact upon the development of the Welfare State, which is bound to take place in any case, and should surely do so more hopefully the more conscious and informed is our attitude towards it.

In the first place, then, it would seem to be of primary importance that society should be clear what is the specific purpose of — and what are the subconscious assumptions behind — any particular " social service," whether statutory or voluntary. Since some may be puzzled to know how there can be any doubt about so fundamental a matter as this, let us take the examples of the Creche and the Nursery School. Clearly such services as these, and perhaps most of all if they are on a voluntary basis (and let us never forget that such voluntary services are a vital constituent of the Welfare State) *can* be made not only to benefit the infant recipients of their " expertise," but yet more importantly to strengthen and to sustain the Family—*if that is what they are intended and designed to do.* Indeed if their essential purpose is to relieve the over-driven mother of such intolerable strains as are all too often imposed upon her by the unnatural conditions of urban existence on a small income to-day, then they may be the only means of enabling her to maintain her family life at all. But if, on the contrary, their main purpose is to facilitate the mother leaving her home for a full day's work in service of the " export drive," then can anyone honestly maintain that such institutions will be making a positive contribution to the domestic life of the nation?

Another example is afforded by the experiments described, not very happily perhaps, as Community Centres — those well-intentioned efforts at the crystallization of collective bliss. The artificial fabrication of " community " is of course a sign that we are now at issue with the consequences of an unnatural society the shape and " ethos " of which inhibits it only too often from throwing up and sustaining associative groupings spontaneously. Yet it is not enough to dismiss to-day's efforts after " community " as merely synthetic and artificial. Our society has somehow got to nurse itself back into a condition in which it can first recognize true social health for what it is, and then learn how to enjoy it by a new obedience to its laws. This involves the acceptance of such abnormal means as our present weakness in this respect imposes on us as necessary to our social convalescence.

This leads to the second point which ought, I think, to lie behind a realistic Christian evaluation of the Welfare State. Briefly, it ought to be regarded not as a feather-bed on which an exhausted society may repose (so long as it is able to afford it), but rather as a spring-board from which it may gain momentum to leap forward to something better. The institutions purporting to provide our people with " social security " ought to be ungrudgingly welcomed so long as they are regarded not as an end in themselves, but as a means to a more confident and more truly balanced society. Economic anxiety is for most men a paralysing and demoralizing influence; only the saint can normally survive it without enfeeblement of purpose and activity, and even saints are wont to organise themselves into religious communities to avoid its distractions. But no healthy society can be content with *merely* underpinning the position of its less vigorous or less fortunate members. As Dr. Demant has well expressed it, " a community cannot survive economically and socially if to survive is the limit of its ambition." Our country is now in some danger of losing its place in the world from failure to perceive and embrace a positive vocation consonant with the realities of the post-war situation. Has Christian thinking no illuminations to offer here ? If Christians imagine that they are fulfilling a prophetic role either by unrealistic onslaughts upon a hypothetical totalitarianism on the one hand, or by a complacent belauding of our social services as the last word in moral progress on the other, they imagine a vain thing. The world looks for—if it does not too hopefully expect—something better from us than this, and the Church should do more to encourage its Christian sociologists to provide it.

Finally, and more practically, there is the new sphere which the staffing of the social services, in the widest sense of the term, offers for the conscious pursuit of a Christian vocation. The editor of *Blackfriars* put the matter well when, introducing a recent number devoted to this subject, he suggested that " the professional social worker has the opportunity to translate the soulless business of ' welfare ' into the personal action of meeting another's needs." Even a " bureaucrat " is a human being, and in the translation of official regulations into restorative action there are countless opportunities for interpretation and application which in the hands of one animated at once by the love of God and by the Christian doctrine of Man, can be turned to good account. The probation officer, the housing estate manager, the health visitor, are but a few of the agencies through which the Welfare State works; and it is in such posts as these that this century is offering some of the most fruitful openings for the discovery of Christian vocation by the application of a new sort of professional skill exhibited primarily in a relation between persons. The argument about the Welfare State will go on amongst us, and it ought to go on, for there must be few Christians who, having reflected upon the matter, can really believe that in it we have the last word in social order. But while it is going on, such positive opportunities should never be far from our minds; for if those inspired by the Faith let them go by, others with an outlook less profound will fill the positions which Christians ought to be occupying.

I will end with some words of Chesterton's which have always seemed to me a perfect expression of the spirit in which the Christian should place himself at the service of society. " We have to find a way," he said, " of loving the world without trusting it." This neither the sentimentalist nor the harsh " paternalist " (and it is from these types that our social workers have only too often come) can ever know how to do; for the sentimentalist, while he loves this suffering world, trusts it too much, while the "paternalist" trusts to his worldly wisdom, but does not really love those whom he " administers " at all. Let our Christian administrators and social workers be as " wise as serpents," both in their professional qualifications for their tasks, and in their open-eyed realism in face of the weakness and failure and sin of the world to which they minister. But let them too be " harmless as doves " towards those for whom the " public servant " does not always appear as a figure moved primarily by sympathy and understanding. For perhaps in no age so much as in this of the Welfare State was it so necessary —and can it be so rewarding—for us " to find a way of loving the world without trusting it."

THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT

By R. V. G. TASKER

THE fine copy of the Complutensian Polyglot, which lies before us this evening, was presented to the Library of King's College in 1835 by William Marsden, member of the East India Company, Fellow of the Royal Society, philologist, and collector of coins and rare books. In his memoirs published after his death we find the following not uninteresting reference to this benefaction:

> The sense of increasing infirmities and the desire of providing against their unavoidable consequences led me to consider how I could, in the manner most creditable to myself and with a view to the greatest public utility, make an offering of my collection of books and Eastern manuscripts, of which I could no longer hope to avail myself as a subject of profitable study. The addition of the collection to our great National Library not only would be unimportant, but upon examination a great proportion of the books must necessarily prove to be duplicates of those already in the British Museum. On the other hand the establishment of the King's College London (its peculiar recommendations out of the question) presented many of the advantages that belong to a modern foundation and recent structure, as respects the forming of a Library, the space being in a certain sense unoccupied, especially that specific apartment which it was judged would be best suited to the limited extent and exclusive reception of my books.[1]

So the Marsden collection passed into the hands of the Council of King's College.

This handsomely bound copy is one of the six hundred copies originally printed, and one of the ninety-seven copies known to have been in existence when J. P. R. Lyell published an informative appreciation of Cardinal Ximenes in 1917 in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of his death. It was under the enthusiastic patronage and at the vast expense of the famous Archbishop of Toledo and Regent of Castile, who "enjoyed the income of a king but was content to live like a monk", that the Polyglot was produced at the University founded by him at Alcala (later known as Complutum), and removed to Madrid in 1836. The production

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* A lecture given to the Spanish Department of King's College London and others, by Professor R. V. G. Tasker, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of London.

of this work was one of the many practical signs of the Cardinal's determination to be loyal to one of the main principles set forth in the statutes of his newly-founded University: *Theologica disciplina ceteris scientiis et artibus pro ancillis utitur.* Not the least important of these "handmaids" to the study of theology was the study of the Greek language—the language of the New Testament, of many of the early Fathers of the Church, and of Aristotle.

Polyglots arose from the desire of the Jews, after Hebrew had ceased to be a living language, to have alongside of the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament a translation or paraphrase in Aramaic, Greek, Arabic or some other language. Of these Polyglots perhaps the most renowned is the Triglot in Hebrew, Greek and Latin which we owe to Franciscus Ximenes de Cisneros.

The production of this *magnum opus* was begun in 1502 in honour of the birth of the child who was to be the emperor Charles V; and Ximenes lived to see the whole of the work through the press before his own death on November 8, 1517. It is recorded that on one occasion he said to his editors: "Lose no time, friends, in the prosecution of our glorious work; for you may lose your patron by one of those accidents that are so common in life; or I may have to lament the loss of you, whose work I value more than all the riches and honour in the world".[2] And when the son of Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar, the distinguished printer who was responsible for this magnificent specimen of early printing, carried the last sheets to Ximenes on his death-bed, the aged Cardinal (he was then eighty-one years old) raised his eyes to heaven and said, "I give Thee thanks, O most holy God, that Thou hast brought to the long-wished for end the book which I undertook". Afterward when conversing with his friends he is said to have often observed that the surmounting of the various difficulties of his political situation afforded him not half the solace of that which arose from the finishing of the Polyglot.

There is, it would seem, a somewhat veiled reference to the fifteen years spent in the production of the work (seven years on the Old Testament and eight on the New) in the four Latin hexameter lines which are printed on each of the title pages of the six volumes above the Cardinal's arms. These arms, which are printed in red in all of the volumes except the fifth, consist of a shield with fifteen panels. The verses which are not particularly easy to interpret run as follows:

Haec tibi pentadecas tetragonon respicit illud
Hospitium petri at pauli ter quinque dierum.
Namque instrumentum vetus hebdoas innuit, octo
Lex nova signatur, ter quinque receptat utrumque.

We may construe these lines as follows: "This quadrilateral with its fifteen divisions recalls for you the fifteen days' visit of Paul to Peter (a reference to the interesting autobiographical note in the Epistle to the Galatians i, 18): for seven divisions hint at the Old Testament, while the new law is signified by the other eight; and the fifteen divisions together embrace both". Others have supposed that these enigmatical lines contain further hidden allusions to the College of St. Peter and St. Paul at Alcala and to the sacredness of the number seven and the perfection of the number eight.

The Cardinal was led to undertake this enterprise not only by his inherent love of learning and his desire to devote his great wealth to the spread of knowledge, but also by the general ignorance amongst the clergy of the sacred text of Scripture. The Manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate had become corrupt. When we remember that there are some eight thousand manuscripts of the Vulgate in existence to-day, and that the number at the beginning of the sixteenth century must have been larger, it is not surprising that such corruption was widespread. Previous revisions of the Vulgate, moreover, as Sir Frederic Kenyon reminds us, "rested on no firm basis of textual criticism, and did little to delay the general process of deterioration. It was consequently in a far from correct form that the Vulgate appeared in the first book produced by the printing press, the famous Guttenberg Bible of 1456".[3] And though the first Hebrew Bible had been published in 1488, and the first Hebrew Psalter in 1477, no printed text of the New Testament existed in its original language.

"It is not quite creditable to Christian scholarship", wrote Nestlé, "at the close of the Middle Ages that not a single printed edition of the Greek New Testament appeared during the course of the fifteenth century".[4] The reason for this discrepancy is, however, clear. The Jews were able by reason of their large numbers and their great wealth to contribute the money and the skill necessary for such an undertaking; while the Greeks turned out of Constantinople in 1453 had neither the leisure nor the means to print a Greek Testament. There was, moreover, the further difficulty that as yet no clear or effective Greek printing type had been invented.

Attempts had been made to set up a Greek type as far back as 1465 in Germany and Italy, and this type was used for printing brief Greek quotations which occurred in Latin texts. The Greek fount was made as similar as possible to the Roman founts. The printing of continuous Greek texts began ten years later, but was confined to reproductions of the Greek classics and grammatical works. An additional reason for the delay in printing a Greek Bible was that the Vulgate possessed not only the authority of papal sanction but the prestige of a thousand years' continual use.

The purpose of Ximenes in the production of the Polyglot is quite clearly stated in the Preface which follows the dedication to Pope Leo X on the opening pages of the first volume:

> No translation (we read there) can fully and exactly represent the sense of the original, at least in that language in which our Saviour Himself spoke. The manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate differ so much from one another that one cannot help suspecting that some alterations must have been made, principally through the ignorance and negligence of the copyists. It is necessary therefore (as St. Jerome and St. Augustine desired) that we should go back to the origin of the sacred writings, and correct the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew text, and those of the New Testament by the Greek text. Every theologian should also be able to drink of that water which springs up to eternal life at the fountain-head itself. This is the reason therefore why we have ordered the Bible to be printed in the original language with different translations . . . . To accomplish this task we have been obliged to have recourse to the knowledge of the most notable philologists, and to make researches in every direction for the best and most ancient Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. Our object is to revive the hitherto dormant study of the sacred scriptures.

It is clear from this passage that the production of a Biblical text in the original languages of the Old and New Testaments was the main object of the producers of the Polyglot. At the same time a partial, but, in the view of H. J. White[5], only moderately successful revision of the Latin was undertaken. The editor's words about this revision are: *Latinam itidem beati Hieronumi translationem contulimus cum quam plurimis exemplaribus venerandae vetustatis, sed his maxime, quae in publica Complutensis nostrae universitatis Bibliotheca reconduntur, quae supra octagentissimum abhinc annum litteris Gothicis conscripta, ea sunt sinceritate ut nec apicis lapsus possit in eis deprehendi.*

The work of editing this vast undertaking was entrusted to Diego Lopez de Zuniga, commonly known as Stunica, who was assisted by three professors of Alcala, a Greek from Crete, and three converted Jews who were learned Hebraists: and the result of their monumental labour is to be found in the six volumes before us. The first portion to be printed was the New Testament, which occupies volume five of the finished work, its colophon bearing the date January 10, 1514. The next volume in chronological order, but the sixth volume in the completed production, contains a Hebrew and Chaldean lexicon of the Old Testament, the colophons here giving the dates March 17 and May 31, 1514. The four other volumes, volumes I to IV containing the Old Testament, were not finished until July 10, 1517.

In the Old Testament the Hebrew text is given in the outside columns with Hebrew roots in the margin; the Vulgate occupies the middle, and the Greek Septuagint (interlined with a Latin translation) the inside columns. The volume containing the Pentateuch has in addition at the foot of each page a Chaldean paraphrase side by side with a translation of it into Latin.

The type used for the Greek in these Old Testament volumes is smaller and much less beautiful than that used for the New Testament, and ordinary breathings and accents have been inserted. It is, in fact, the type which had been introduced by the famous Italian printer Aldus of Venice in 1495 and was destined to have a great influence upon subsequent Greek printing. "The innovation of Aldus" (I quote from Victor Scholderer's *Introduction to Greek Printing Types* 1465-1927, a beautifully produced book published by the British Museum in 1927 and containing a number of most interesting facsimiles) "consisted in taking as a model not one of the more or less formal book hands cultivated by the older scribes, but the ordinary hand used by contemporary Greeks for correspondence and business, full of contractions and flourishes and obviously conditioned in all its numerous curves and dashes by the exigencies and facilities of the running pen. Aldus accepted unmodified the crowding and restless involutions of the vulgar script of his day and reproduced them in the rigidly fixed lines of a metal block, a proceeding running counter to the very nature and genius of the printed page." The use of this smaller type in the Old Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot was probably rendered necessary by the interlinear Latin; but Brocar, the printer, in apologizing for its use says that as the Greek in the Old Testament is merely a translation it was not worth his while to use his special type.

The Hebrew type of the Polyglot is said to have no rival amongst early printed Hebrew books. The general arrangement of the Old Testament texts is masterly. In both Testaments the insertion of the same small letters above corresponding words in the different languages, and the placing of corresponding words in similar positions in the parallel lines, blank spaces being filled in with marks of omission, makes comparison easy; though instances have been found where in the desire to achieve such ease of comparison alteration has been made in the proper order of the Greek words.[6] The total effect, however, of the arrangement of what is in fact a vast amount of material is very pleasing to the eye of the reader. There are no verse divisions[7] but the customary division into chapters is employed with a sub-division of the various chapters into A B C etc.

Attention is drawn in the second preface addressed to the reader in the opening volume to the central place of honour occupied by the Vulgate. Here we find the statement so often quoted in references in modern books to the Polyglot, that as our Lord was crucified between two thieves so the Latin Church stands between the Synagogue and the Greek Church, for the Latin Church alone always remained immovable in the truth being built upon a firm rock, while the rest have often deviated from the right understanding of scripture: *Mediam inter has latinam beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem Ecclesiam posuimus*: *tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones medium autem Iesum hoc est Romanam sive latinam ecclesiam collocantes. Haec enim sola supra firmam petram aedificata* (*reliquis a recta scripturae intelligentis quandoquidem deviantibus*) *immobilis semper in veritate permansit.* The inference that these words necessarily imply the great superiority of the Vulgate to the Hebrew and to the Septuagint is rendered invalid because in both prefaces the Hebrew text is referred to as "the truth". They are in effect, to put the less charitable interpretation upon them, a glorification (some would say an unnecessary glorification) of the Latin Church in comparison with the Greek Church and the Synagogue; or else, to judge more charitably, they are defensive rather than offensive, giving, in the words of the late Professor C. H. Turner of Oxford, "an assurance to Latin Christians that there was no anti-Latin animus in the work, an assurance which no one who has read the correspondence of Erasmus from the early years of the century onwards could assert to be superfluous.[8]" In any case the words are a specimen of Spanish humour which we to-day may or may not appreciate.

In the books of the Greek Old Testament originally written in Greek, which the Roman Church regards as canonical but which form the Apocrypha in our English Bibles, only two texts appear in the Complutensian Polyglot, the Vulgate in the centre and the Septuagint, interlined with a Latin translation, on either side of it.

Ximenes is said to have paid four thousand ducats for the purchase of seven Hebrew manuscripts for use in the Polyglot; and a Hebrew manuscript now in the possession of the University of Madrid would seem to be one of those used by the editors. For the Greek text of both Testaments they relied, so they state in the preface, upon ancient manuscripts lent from the Vatican Library by Pope Leo X. The Complutensian Old Testament text was followed in the three great subsequent Polyglots, that of Antwerp in 1568, of Heidelburg in 1586, and Walton's Latin Polyglot of 1655. Subsequently its influence declined owing to the attention given by modern critical scholars to hitherto unknown and more ancient Hebrew manuscripts.

When we turn to the New Testament volume with its two columns containing the Greek text and the Vulgate side by side, we are looking at the *editio princeps* of the Greek Testament: for, though the hastily produced[9] text of Erasmus printed by Froben at Basle in the year 1516 was the first text to be published, the text of the Complutensian Polyglot was the first to be printed. The delay in publication till 1522, though the printing of the entire work was finished in 1517 and had received papal sanction in 1520, has sometimes been explained as due to the natural doubt on the part of the authorities of the Church as to the wisdom of putting into circulation a new translation; but was perhaps more probably caused by the exclusive privilege which Erasmus obtained for the use of his edition for four years within the Holy Roman Empire.

Two things very soon strike the reader of the New Testament volume of the Complutensian Polyglot. First, the extreme beauty of the Greek type. Of this Robert Proctor in his monograph *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century,* published in 1900, wrote, "To Spain belongs the honour of having produced as her first Greek type what is undoubtedly the finest Greek fount ever cut, and the only one of which it can be affirmed with certainty that it is based on the writing of a particular manuscript." Hitherto Greek types, as we have already noticed, had been founded on the cursive or running handwriting used so frequently in manuscripts of the Greek Testament after the ninth century, where grace was often sacrificed to speed. The type used in the New Testament volume of the Complutensian Polyglot was directly taken, so we are told in a prefatory note, from one of the stately uncial manuscripts written presumably in lower case letters, sent from the Vatican Library by Pope Leo X. Scholderer has, however, pointed out that Brocar's type is influenced by the type of Nicolas Jenson, the distinguished printer of Venice, regarded as the best of all Greek types of the fifteenth century. What Brocar did was to reproduce this type with a much larger face. There is the same concentration upon lower case letters with a mere sprinkling of capitals as in Jenson. Ligatures and contractions are, however, abandoned and the letters made more uniform in style. The result is a type which has been described as *largus, plenus, aequabilis, nullis litterarum nexibus aut compendiis involutus*. The regular system of breathings and accents, the bane of all printers of Greek, is not used; but acute accents are inserted in an unparalleled manner on the tone syllable in words of more than one syllable, as though Spanish and not Greek was being printed. The setting-up of this type has been done with accuracy. According to F. H. Scrivenor there are only fifty printers' errors in the work, and the only major editorial mistake that has been noticed, as far as I am aware, is the blending at Hebrews vii, 3, of the title of a section of the epistle with the actual text, so that the verse about Melchizedek reads somewhat strangely "abideth a priest for ever, in which he takes precedence over Abraham."[10]

Scholderer's final judgement on the Greek type used in volume five of the Polyglot is worth quoting. "In fact", he says, "it is the last and most beautiful of the Jensonian class of type, carrying it to the limit of its possibilities, and is fairly entitled to its generally acknowledged position as the king of all Greek founts, although its final perfection was not disclosed till the present century when Robert Proctor completed a revival of the lower case in an enlarged copy by adding a full set of capitals adapted to it (see *fac.* 59). The Greek of the Complutensian New Testament remains the only original contribution of Spain to Hellenic typography, and it is characteristic of her genius that this should have taken the form of a vindication of old and fine standards to which the newer fashion gave no heed."[11]

The second feature of the New Testament volume of the Polyglot which the reader will soon notice is the somewhat strange order in which the books are printed. The Four Gospels, then the Pauline Epistles (preceded by a summary of Paul's travels, a brief discourse by Euthalius, a late fourth century writer, about the chronology of Paul's life, and brief conventional introductions to all the New Testament Epistles). Then we come to the Acts of the Apostles followed by the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse of John. This order is found in no other ancient authorities except the famous fourth century *Codex Sinaiticus,* found by Tischendorf on Mount Sinai and now in the British Museum, and in *Codex Fuldensis,* a manuscript of the Latin Vulgate written in 546. C. H. Turner wrote of it: "It corresponds better than any other order to the history of the canon and the mind of the early church. . . . We must regret the chance that one other variant order (Acts before Paul) should have been stereotyped in Latin and English Bibles, and we must certainly blame the pedantry of the critical editions of the Greek Testament which have perpetuated a third order, Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, however ancient and valuable the authorities such as the *Codex Vaticanus* which employ it."[12] This last remark is directed mainly at Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament of 1881, of which Turner was very critical.

The New Testament volume also contains a letter of Eusebius to Carpianus about the agreement of the Four Gospels, and the Epistle of Jerome to Pope Damasus. These precede the text of the Gospels. At the end of the volume we find some commendatary verses in Greek and Latin, the latter consisting of a dialogue between *liber* and *lector;* a list of translations of Hebrew, Chaldean and Greek proper names found in the New Testament; an introduction to the Greek language *quam brevissima;* and a Greek glossary with Latin equivalents.

Because of the delay in the publication of the New Testament text of the Polyglot it never exercised great influence; and the text of Erasmus obtained a flying start which it retained without serious challenge for some two hundred and fifty years in spite of the fact that it was based on manuscript evidence inferior both to the Vulgate and to the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot.[13] "If Cardinal Ximenes," I quote C. H. Turner once again, "had cared to issue his New Testament alone, his text would have been not only the better but the earlier, and might have obtained the ear of the learned world. But Erasmus and Froben between them got their edition out in March 1516 . . . . and the fame of the editor, the smaller size and smaller cost of the edition, the greater number of copies, and the superior convenience of Basle as a publishing centre for German, French, Flemish and even Italian customers combined to capture the market."[14] John Mill in the learned prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Testament published in 1707 lamented the small influence of the Complutensian Polyglot: *In illo nunquam satis celebrando opere Bibliorum Complutensium optandum esset ut editio hæc magnifica sicut omnium prima erat, ita sola quidem fuisset, cuius textus integer et illibatus in editiones posteriores quasque transisset.*[15]

Erasmus was driven, however, to make use of Stunica's text for the Apocalypse of John in his third edition of 1522. For his first edition he had quite unblushingly retranslated the Vulgate back into Greek for the closing verses of that book, being unable to find a Greek manuscript which contained the book in full. And in his fourth edition of 1527 some sparing use of the Polyglot was made. Leo Vaganay, a Roman Catholic textual critic, has written in this connexion, " Erasmus it may be said had neither sufficient love of truth nor sufficient self-denial to profit by this text ",[16] a severe, but, it would seem, a just judgement. The Complutensian text of the New Testament also reappeared in the Antwerp Polyglot.

No one has been able to trace any manuscripts of which it could be said for certain that they were used by the Complutensian editors in the compilation of their Greek New Testament. When their text is collated, however, with existing ancient manuscripts, it does not appear that the type of text contained in the manuscripts loaned from the Vatican Library was primitive. It is certainly very unlike the text of the *Codex Vaticanus,* the fourth-century treasure which remained unknown outside the Vatican for three more centuries. Two of the most distinctive readings of the Polyglot are (1) at Luke i, 64, where we read that not only was the mouth of Zacharias opened, but his tongue *made articulate,* [17]" and (2) Luke ii, 22, where the Polyglot reads " " When the days of *her* purification were completed." All other known Greek manuscripts have " *their* purification ", or, obviously erroneously, " *his* purification ". If any manuscript should be discovered which contained both these peculiar variants and of a prior date, we might possess in it one of the sources of the Polyglot text.

The Greek text of the Complutensian New Testament differs from the Vulgate in some nine hundred places, so the charge that the editors wilfully distorted the Greek text to make it coincide with the Latin cannot be substantiated. Some of these differences are of considerable interest. In Luke ii, 14, in the angelic song of the first Christmas night, the Greek of the Polyglot reads " goodwill amongst men ", while the Vulgate has " men of goodwill ". In Luke x, 1, the number of missionaries sent out by our Lord is said in the Greek of the Polyglot to be 70 and in the Vulgate 72. In Acts ix, 5, in the account of Paul's conversion the Greek of the Polyglot has nothing to correspond to the words retained in the Vulgate *durum enim tibi stimulum calcitrare.* In Acts viii, 37, after the words of the Ethiopian eunuch to Philip, " Behold water; what doth hinder me from being baptized?", the Greek of the Polyglot omits the words found in the Vulgate, " Philip said to him ' If you believe with all your heart it is permitted.' And he answered and said ' I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' " The prince of the demons is styled Beelzeboul in the Polyglot Greek text and Beelzebub in the Vulgate.

The main ground of the charge of wilful distortion by the editors of the Greek text to avoid discrepancies with the Vulgate was the inclusion of the testimony of the three heavenly witnesses in I John v, 7, a verse which though found in most copies of the Vulgate has no Greek manuscript support before the sixteenth century, and is without patristic support until the end of the fifth century. Erasmus omitted the passage from his first two editions; and when called to task by Stunica for so doing, promised to insert it in subsequent editions if any Greek manuscript containing it was forthcoming. Eventually such a manuscript was discovered. It is now at Trinity College, Dublin; but, as it is certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century, it is more than possible that it was itself corrupted at this point from the Vulgate. The particular passage which we are now considering has in this manuscript been glazed over with some protective preparation, which led a witty Irish priest, so J. P. R. Lyell informs us, to observe that no one could fail to see that it was a gloss! As a result of the discovery of this manuscript the passage passed into the third edition of Erasmus, and so into the *textus receptus* of Stephanus in 1550 and thence into our Authorized Version, where we read: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth, the spirit, and the water and the blood, and these three agree in one". The Greek text of the Polyglot inserts this passage with the exception of the last words, the second mention of "these three agree in one": and the editors have placed a long note in the margin explaining *not* their reason for including the reference to the heavenly witnesses, but their reason for omitting this last clause, which they say they do on the authority of St Thomas Aquinas.

It would seem that the editors did in fact insert this passage from the Vulgate disliking the omission of what seemed strong evidence for the belief in the Holy Trinity. Those who may wish to defend the genuineness of the passage in spite of the weakness of external attestation may perhaps take heart from some recent words of Monsigneur Knox, who defends it by attributing its omission to the common scribal error of *homoioteleuton* or *homoioarcton.* After acknowledging how weak the external evidence is he writes, "In the face of all this opposition the Church will not allow us to write off the whole reference to the Trinity as a gloss. And for the excellent reason that it would be easy for the copyist of some very early manuscript—if you like, the man who copied out St. John's—to take his eye off the page after the words 'There are three who bear witness' and to hit the same words two lines lower down when he turned back to it. For myself, in spite of all the scorn with which Protestant criticism greets such an attitude, I avow quite impenitently that the passage reads to me more naturally with the addition than without it—it is a clever gloss which has this effect."[18]

The editors of the Complutensian Polyglot have inserted four other marginal notes besides the note on I John v, 7 and 8, three of which are worthy of our brief attention. In Matthew vi, 13, the Greek of the Polyglot together with the Vulgate omits the words found in our Authorized Version, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory", manuscript evidence for which is late. The marginal note asserts that these words were inserted from certain Greek missals, where the priest alone is instructed to utter them at the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer.

In I Corinthians xv, 51, the Greek of the Polyglot reads "We shall not all sleep but we shall all be changed" as in our Authorized Version and Revised Version. This is undoubtedly the best attested reading, and the meaning is "We shall not all die (before the Lord returns) but we shall all undergo a change (at His coming)". The Vulgate, as quoted in the Polyglot, reads *Omnes quidem resurgemus sed non omnes immutabimur*—"We shall all rise up but we shall not all be changed", the usual Vulgate rendering. In the margin the editors drew attention to a third reading, "We shall all sleep but we shall not all be changed", and they give a reference to Jerome's *Epistle to Minervius*. The changes found in these last two versions seem to have been due first to the difficulty felt by the fact that Paul did die before the Lord returned, and secondly to the desire to make the passage refer to the general resurrection of believers and non-believers. The Vulgate reading thus means "We shall all rise up (i.e., there will be a general resurrection) but we shall not all (but only believers) be changed". And the Greek version inserted in the margin of the Polyglot means "We are all to die (Christians, Paul included, and non-Christians) but not all will suffer a change (at the general resurrection).

Finally in I Corinthians xiii, 3, where both the Greek text of the Polyglot and the Vulgate read "If I give my body to be burned", a marginal note states that in some Greek manuscripts the reading (caused by the change of a single Greek letter) "that I may have ground for boasting" is found; and a reference is given to Jerome's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. This second reading, though it is found in the fourth-century *Codex Vaticanus* and in the recently discovered third-century Chester Beatty papyrus codex, the earliest copy of the *Corpus Paulinum* in existence, is almost certainly a primitive corruption: for the motive behind the self-sacrifice is not what would appear to be in Paul's mind at this moment, but the *degree* of self-sacrifice; and the expression "if I hand over my body" seems to demand further elucidation such as the words "that I may be burned" supply.

In conclusion we may assert with confidence that the Complutensian Polyglot will remain a literary treasure, first because it was the *editio princeps* of the Greek Testament, even though its value for subsequent textual criticism proved to be limited; secondly because its production is an abiding witness to the influence of the spirit of the Renaissance upon one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical leaders of his age, freeing him from the charge of obscurantism or timid conservatism; and thirdly because it is in itself a thing of beauty, and "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever."

[1] *A brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Marsden Written by himself.* (1838). pp. 171-172.

[2] *Cardinal Ximenes and the making of Spain.* By Reginald Merton (1934). p. 137.

[3] *The Text of the Greek Bible* (1937) p. 144.

[4] *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* by Eberhard Nestlé (London 1901) p. 1.

[5] Hastings; *Dictionary of the Bible,* vol. iv. p. 880a.

[6] J. H. Ropes. *The Beginning of Christianity.* Vol. iii, p. lxxix.

[7] These began with Robert Stephen's fourth edition of the New Testament (1551).

[8] C. H. Turner. *The Early Printed Editions of the Greek Testament.* (Oxford Press 1914). p. 12.

[9] Erasmus himself afterwards confessed that it was *praecipitatum verius quam editum.*

[10] Noted by S. P. Tregelles: *An account of the Printed text of the Greek Testament* (1854).

[11] *op cit.,* p. 10.

[12] *op. cit.* p. 13.

[13] Erasmus would seem to have used mainly a twelth-century manuscript at Basle now known by the figure 2.

[14] *op cit.* p. 16.

[15] Quoted in T. F. Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics.* (London 1804).

[16] *Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Sands and Company, 1937) p. 147.

[17] The only manuscript evidence quoted so far as I know for this reading is by von Soden's 192 (Gregory's 251).

[18] R. Knox. "*The Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Holidays.*" (Burns-Oates and Washbourne, 1946). p. 120.

ST. MARK AND HIS CALENDAR

By THE ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC

IT is not very easy to comment on the generous article of Dr. Farrer in the October-December *Church Quarterly* about my recent book, the *Primitive Christian Calendar;* but I am going to begin by picking a bone with him. He says that I do not give him enough evidence on which to make up his mind. He says in particular that, though my subject is the adaptation of the gospel narrative to a lunar calendar, I nowhere devote a page to a simple account of how such a calendar worked. Well, I did compose a series of little prefaces dealing with this subject, and interjected them at appropriate places in the full text of the Gospel according to St. Mark, which is printed at the end of the book. The first of these will be found on page 117; they occupy eleven or twelve pages in all; and I hoped that they might prove helpful. There is other information, too, dispersed throughout the book, which I had hoped might prove adequate.

1

Dr. Farrer seems to have accepted my general principle, which is that the order of the various sections of St. Mark's Gospel was determined by the order of the festivals of the Jewish Calendar, or bears some relation to it; but he criticizes very skilfully my theory that chapters I-X provide a lectionary for every Sunday in the year. He seems ready to allow that there may be a succession of lections (or lection-sequences) for the major festivals, but not a regular Sunday-by-Sunday provision for the intervening weeks. He would extend this succession of festal lections over two years or parts of two years. I need hardly say that I am very happy to have a scholar of his genius and literary sensitiveness go so far with me. I am well satisfied.

I do not wish to occupy space with the technical difficulties of fitting a lectionary of any description into a lunar year, but would refer him to pages 20-21 and 134-135 of my book, in which I have something to say about the points to which he refers. No Jewish calendrical system can have been free from difficulty in these respects. What I would like to do is to draw attention to the broad lines of my attempted demonstration, which is based on the virtual identity of three independent patterns:

1. The analysis which I made of the structure of Mark I-X, on the basis of a mystical interpretation of the seed parables—a point to which Mark himself draws special attention.
2. The Hebrew ritual and agricultural year, or rather, in the last analysis, perhaps, its fixed fasts and festivals.
3. The chapter-enumeration found in the margins of the Vatican Codex (B).

I believe, however, that the text of Mark was flexible and elastic in this respect, and that the chapter-system of Codex B represents a crystallization and even a contraction of the original arrangement.

I used the first 49 chapters of Codex B (covering Mark I-XII) for an obvious reason. They provided me with an independent reference-scale of ancient date. I preferred to see what could be done with this objective external standard, rather than work out a hypothetical system of lection-divisions on the basis of my own judgement. Subject to minor technical difficulties, to which I drew the attention of my readers as I went along, I found that the three patterns could be successfully superimposed upon one another. I drew attention, however, to the fact that I preferred to base the analysis on Mark I-X; and I expressed my belief that the system followed in Codex B has taken too much into its first 49 chapters towards the end of them: 42, 46, and 47, are all inordinately long. And it was obvious, too, that 49 chapters would not provide an adequate number of lections for every Sunday, even in the lunar year; but possibly some important Sundays were otherwise provided for. Nor are we bound to believe that B accurately preserves the original enumeration. The amazing thing is that it came so close.

The substantial identity which was proved to exist by this process of triple superimposition could not, in my opinion, be explained as a pure accident. The pattern was far too complicated to have been arrived at by a triple coincidence. What now appeared seemed to be an identical and continuous tradition in three independent forms or phases; and I found a good deal of evidence in other quarters which seemed to support this conclusion.

Dr. Farrer would have liked me to have shown how the several lection numbers in the various families of manuscripts operated for a lunar year. This would be an impossibly large order. What I did was to show how one selected set of chapter-numbers could be fitted into the calendar-arrangement of Mark, and simultaneously into the outline of the Hebrew calendar. I supplied, along with that, the lection numbers from three other traditions, the old Greek following Codex A, the Old Latin following c, and the Arabic Diatessaron. I do not believe, however, that the chapter-divisions in these traditions were any longer operated in connexion with a lunar year. Their various interrelations prove that they had a common origin, which can be accounted for if they originated in connexion with some older system of gospel-reading; and it is this common origin, and this older system of gospel-reading which was so closely related to the Jewish calendar and the structure of the Marcan gospel as I now understood it.

I suggested, indeed, that their adaptation to the solar year occurred at a very early date; see for instance pages 36-37.

2.

Dr. Farrer's real difficulties arise in connexion with my allotment of lections to the Jewish feasts. He charges me with changing my mind on the subject of the Transfiguration; and so I did. I allotted it to Tammuz 17 instead of Tabernacles. I did this because the Tabernacles identification did not fit the three-dimensional pattern. Apart from this consideration the identification with Tabernacles, so plausibly argued by Harald Riensenfeld, is still open; but if we accept the three-dimensional pattern which is provided by the superimposition of our principal authorities, the Transfiguration is bound to fall in midsummer, where the church calendars actually place it; agreeing with the little touch added by Matthew to the Marcan narrative, " And his face did shine as the sun ": (Matt. xvii, 2.)

I do not think that Dr. Farrer can really dismiss Tammuz 17 from consideration by calling it a largely hypothetical, half-heathenish feast, kept in midsummer. It is not at all hypothetical. It is the " fast of the fourth month " mentioned by Zechariah (viii, 19), and has continued in the Jewish calendar down to the present day. All midsummer fasts (or feasts) are half-heathenish, including the medieval St. John's Eve. Tabernacles, too, was at least half-heathenish. Indeed semi-heathenism is a mark of historicity and antiquity rather than otherwise.

I am hoping that my association of the Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem and His Cleansing of the Temple, with the Feast of Tabernacles, may be taken seriously; and I am delighted to see that Dr. T. W. Manson has arrived at it, quite apart from my calendar theory; see *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*: Vol. 33, No. 2, March 1951. My own difficulty about it is not over the proposed excision of the last six words of Mark xi, 13, which Dr. Farrer calls a " desperate expedient ", and Dr. Sherman Johnson welcomes with delight. It is over St. John's Gospel; for St. John goes out of his way, in his seventh chapter, to insist that Jesus came to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles, without any publicity. He has palms and hosannas for him in his twelfth chapter, at Passover, but, strange to say, he does not bring him into Jerusalem with them; in fact he does not bring him into Jerusalem at all in Holy Week. As for the Cleansing of the Temple, he includes that in his second chapter, and at Passover too. I cannot harmonize this evidence; but neither can anyone else at present. The difficulty was felt in ancient times. Papias tells us that John did not approve of Mark's order. Tatian was acutely aware of the difficulty, and worked out an interesting solution.

The Entry into Jerusalem in Mark, with its appended lections, has many features which strongly suggest the Feast of Tabernacles, and Dr. Manson has adduced weighty arguments to support the association.

3.

And now I come to the splendid work of Dr. Farrer on the linked lections as I call them in my book. The instance which he chooses for discussion is the organically continuous sequence of the Mission and Return of the Twelve, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the Walking on the Water, and the Healings at Gennesareth. I quite agree with him that they did not come into existence as separate and independent stories which somehow floated together of their own accord, as some of the more advanced form-critics would really seem to suppose; and I am pleased to see that Dr. Vincent Taylor has formed a similar impression of them. Yet this so-called science of form-criticism, in spite of its unreal and arbitrary pronouncements, has unquestionably something to offer. Many of the component units of the gospel narrative do seem to have been framed so that they could be delivered in the *ecclesia* as separate lections; and this is the character of one short narrative after another throughout the Marcan gospel. It is the character of these narratives too.

There are four sets of "linked lections" in Mark I-X. They are spaced at approximately even intervals, and mark new beginnings, or important turning-points in the narrative as a whole. Dr. Farrer has recognized their character in his *Study in Mark;* and Dr. Taylor has made some interesting remarks about them. Each of them begins with a shortish account of a new phase in the calling or mission of the twelve; as Dr. Farrer says, "The first thing we look for in a new cycle is a scene of apostolic calling": *A Study in Mark*: p. 90. With the exception of the second, they contain definite notes of time; and each has a reference to prayer, the only references to prayer in Mark I-X. They are,

1. *The Call of the Four*: followed by the Sabbath in Capernaum. Dr. Farrer points out that the Call of Levi at ii, 14 marks the beginning of a second "cycle": or should we say sub-cycle; but it does not introduce a set of linked lections.
2. *The Choice of the Twelve*: followed by the Beelzebul Controversy and the Parables. I include this instance, though the notes of time and the reference to prayer are missing; Luke recognizes its character, and supplies these deficiencies; and surely he is right.
3. *The* (*Mission and*) *Return of the Twelve*: the Five Thousand, the Walking on the Water, the Healings at Gennesareth. The Story of the Passion of John is inserted between the Mission and the Return of the Twelve; Dr. Taylor describes it as an Interlude.
4. *The Confession of Peter*: Sayings about the Cross and the Glory, the Transfiguration, the Lunatic Boy.

The continuity in each of these sequences seems to be inherent in their whole plan and purpose. It does not seem to have been imposed by Mark on stories which were originally unrelated, unless in the second, which Dr. Taylor regards as a "Markan construction"; I believe, however, that its component parts are more closely related than he thinks, though Mark may have worked on it rather more than he did on the others, and introduced new matter. But the other three, at any rate, seem to have been taken into the gospel without any serious change in their character. They are continuous compositions; but I cannot see how their continuous character would be obscured by their component parts being read on successive Sundays; it might even be emphasized. They are not simply a set of independent unit-narratives as the thoroughgoing form-critic would like them to be; nor are they simply long continuous narratives; they partake of both characters.

Dr. Farrer is reluctant to think that the longer sequences of teaching could have been broken up into suitable units for Sunday reading, partly because he thinks something would be lost in the process, and partly because of the difficulty of making the division. The example which he gives is vii, 1-23; but this one seems to me to divide rather easily, since it deals with two main topics; the first is the Tradition of the Elders (1-13); the second is the question of Clean and Unclean (14-23), the latter topic having been introduced in the opening verses of the former lection. This division seems to me to clarify the whole passage, which would be rather cumbrous for one lection.

4.

Dr. Farrer approves of my emphasis on the triadic structure of Mark, that is to say his use of threefold repetition to indicate leading thoughts, and emphasize their significance; but he thinks it contributes nothing to my calendar theory.

I thought I had made it fairly clear on page 15 and following that it was the triadic structure that gave me the calendar theory.

I began by peering into the three Seed Parables of Mark's fourth chapter, and came to see that they were introduced in connexion with the first member of a more extended triad, which I called the Three Mountains; one on which the Twelve were chosen (iii, 13), one where the Five Thousand were fed (vi, 46), and one on which the Three saw the Transfiguration (ix, 2 and 9). After this, or, rather, interlaced with it, came the Three Passion Announcements, each of which is followed by a sequence of teaching. I thus obtained a clear view of the structure of the Galilean narrative as a whole and it soon became clear that this structure was determined by the festal pattern of the Hebrew Calendar Year.

This progress was made possible by rejecting, at a quite early stage, the dismal unimaginative theory of parables which had been laid down by Dr. A. Jülicher, who had not been able to discover the profound significance which Mark, quoting the words of Jesus, had attributed to them. It was plain, however, that this inner significance must provide the clue to the understanding of the gospel as Mark himself conceived it and wrote it. When this had been grasped (and I must refer the reader to chapter 3 of my Introduction for my treatment of it) it was seen to extend throughout the whole first part of the gospel, and indeed to adumbrate its conclusion. It presented itself to me so strongly that I found it self-authenticating; but I did not think I could persuade others of its truth. It was only when it was so unexpectedly confirmed by evidence from Jewish and Christian calendars, from the chapter-numbers of ancient manuscripts, and from the literary remains of second-century authors, that I dared to think of putting it forward; but while this mass of evidence corroborated and confirmed the view of the gospel which had come to me from trusting Mark in preference to Jülicher, it could never have suggested it. The calendar theory of Mark I-X finds its foundation in the triadic view of the structure of the gospel understood in the light of the true mystical meaning of the parables. It is not compatible with the fashionable de-spiritualization of the poetry of Jesus.

5.

And now I have two suggestions to make to Dr. Farrer. The first is this. The "Three Mountains", which are a firm and irremovable feature of the narrative, are placed in the second, third, and fourth of the "linked lections", which have been set out above; and he already regards these as opening passages of important divisions in the gospel. There was, indeed, a fourth mountain episode available for the first set of linked lections, too, had Mark cared to use it; Matthew at any rate has placed it there; it is the Mountain of the great "Sermon" in which Jesus revealed the character of the Father in heaven and those on earth who are truly his sons. These four points divide the Galilean part of Mark into four fairly equal parts. The first part is a little shorter than the rest, but it has lost the Sermon on the Mount perhaps. Is it to make up for its shortness that the authority which was followed by Codex B divided it into a large number of rather short lections, a procedure which was faithfully followed in all the later systems in all the synoptic gospels?

Would Dr. Farrer consider accepting this much of my theory, that these four parts of Mark I-X are so arranged for the four seasons of the year, beginning respectively at i, 1, iv, 1, vi, 7, and viii, 27. This division coincides very closely with the four major divisions into which Dr. Taylor divides the same material. Dr. Farrer would have to concede that the Transfiguration had been placed at the midsummer point; but after all the arguments in favour of Tabernacles are not so strong as to compel his assent; and it might please him, perhaps, to note that a fourfold character could thus be discerned in the gospel even prior to the four gospels.

The second suggestion is this. As Dr. Taylor agrees, Part 1 of the Galilean narrative of Mark really begins at i, 14, after the Baptism and Temptation of our Lord, which took place in Judaea. What happens if we ignore the Galilean material, and pass directly from the Temptation to the Entry into Jericho in x, 45, or the Entry into Jerusalem in xi, 1 as Taylor prefers? We have a continuous sequence of Judaean narrative, in which the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus immediately precede his Entry into Jerusalem; and this is what it does in the quite elaborate passages of Justin Martyr (Dialogue: 49-54 and 88), where it is sometimes thought he is drawing upon some text which differs slightly from any of our gospels. The Temple Cleansing would come fairly soon after the Baptism; and this is what it does in John ii, 13. Our Lord's reference to the " baptism of John " in his answer to the priests in Mark xi, 29, would also come fairly soon after the Baptism, and therefore be more intelligible and effective.

Have we here a " Judaean " gospel document, older than Mark, into which he fitted the " Petrine " and " Galilean " material, which gave his work its unique colour and value?

THE POPULATION SITUATION

By C. F. ARDEN-CLOSE*

THE problems raised by the increasing numbers of human beings in the world in general, and in Britain in particular, are often dealt with in articles and correspondence printed in *The Times* and other newspapers, and the public can obtain from these sources some idea of the outstanding facts of the case. But it is doubtful if there is any general understanding of the actuality and gravity of the outlook, though the changes in the density of the human occupation of the earth lie at the root of some of our present-day troubles. Let us, then, as objectively as possible, sketch briefly some of the main features of the situation.

We live on a small planet which has a total surface area, including the oceans, of less than two-hundred million square miles, but the land surface has an area of only a little over a quarter of this. Not all of the land surface is habitable, and only about half the habitable area is cultivable. It has been calculated that about 34 million square miles is habitable, and on the relatively restricted space there live all the various races of man. Official estimates in 1930 showed that the total human population of the world was about 2,010 millions, but there is some uncertainty about this figure which includes a rather doubtful value for the population of China. But we may take it that about that date the world population was some two-thousand millions.[1]

What has happened since 1930 ? Well, the second world war had the natural effect of hindering the growth of population in Europe. A very elaborate and painstaking analysis of the *Population Changes in Europe since* 1939 has been written by Mr. Gregory Frumkin, who had been the editor of the *Statistical Year Book* of the League of Nations during its existence. His new book has been described as a quarry for statisticians to dig in; he set himself a difficult task and carried it through successfully. He deals with two periods, the years of war 1939-45, and the years of recovery 1946-47.

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* We deeply regret to record that Sir Charles Arden-Close died after this article had been accepted for publication.

Account had to be taken of war killings, mass murders, deportations, migrations, the removal of prisoners of war, and changes of frontiers. The Soviet Union and the accrued territories are not included in this section, which discusses the old Europe to the west.

The author finds that there was a decrease in population between the pre-war level and the end of 1945, but that in the years 1946 and 1947, in spite of Europe's heavy losses in the war, there was a decided increase in numbers. The population of Europe, as defined, was 385 millions in 1947, that is, less than one-fifth of the world total.

There is great uncertainty as to the population, now or before the second war, of the Soviet Union. No authoritative statistics seem to be available, and Mr. Frumkin had to rely upon scattered information from various sources. He thinks that the Russian war deaths, military and civil, may have amounted to as much as 17 millions. Before the second world war the Soviet Union had a high natural rate of increase, and no doubt it is high now. Perhaps the best approximate figure for the total population of the Soviet Union, in Europe and Asia, would be some 200 millions.

Important considerations were brought forward by Mr. L. J. Cadbury, in a pamphlet[2] printed in January, 1945, in which he dealt with the rates of natural increase of the peoples of Europe, particularly with the rates for the period 1930-35, and, although the figures are out of date, some of the inferences may serve as pointers for the future. In those years Western Europe was hardly reproducing itself, whereas Poland, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and above all, the Soviet Union, were all, in differing degrees, tending to increase at a considerable rate. He summed up in these words: "We may get in South and East increasing numbers that are poor, pressing on the means of subsistence and with an economy that is exclusively agricultural; in the North and West populations that are industrial, still prosperous, but ageing, declining in numbers, virility and influence". It must be remembered that this was written before the end of the second world war, and that afterwards there was a considerable increase in the birth rates in the North and West. In particular, the numbers in Britain show no diminution. We should however, note the comparison between North and West and South and East, though many of the eastern states are now behind the iron curtain, leaving Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece still in the free world, and in the case of Italy, increasing uncomfortably in population.

And now about our own country. The total population of England and Wales, on the 8th April, 1951, was 43.74 millions, the largest ever recorded, and those who predicted a fall in numbers were proved to be wrong, for, in spite of war losses, our numbers had grown by some three and three-quarter millions since 1931. The population of Scotland on the same day was 5.09 millions, and the total for Britain was 48,84 millions. The Registrar-General reported " that so far there is no sign of any tapering away of the successive increments " such as might be expected to herald an approaching diminution.[3]

He also said, in the same report, that the density of the population of England and Wales, namely, 750 persons per square mile, is " a density which, with a possible exception in the case of the Netherlands, is far higher than that of nearly every other country of the world and is several times as high as that of most of them ".

We may safely take it that the population of Britain is now, in round numbers, 49 millions. There never were so many people in an advanced state of civilization, crowded into such a comparatively small island, an island which is far from being able to feed them all from its own resources. We have, fortunately, exact information as to the percentage of food, consumed in this country, which is grown at home. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries has kindly sent me the following statement: " In 1951, according to calculations made by the Ministry of Food, 41 per cent., measured in calories, was home-produced ". So that 59 per cent. is imported. Or, we may put it in this way, food for 20 million people is grown at home, and food for 29 million people is imported. Statements are sometimes made, and published in the press, that we import *two*-fifths of all that we eat. This is an under-statement; we import nearly *three*-fifths of the food that we eat. The difference between the two statements represents the food for nine-million people.

The Right Rev. E. W. Barnes, F.R.S., Bishop of Birmingham, in an address to the Rotary Club, Birmingham, in 1950, said, " We are over-populated. We cannot produce enough food for our people, even though the fertility of our land has been artificially increased. We have to buy large, and ever larger, quantities of food from abroad. As we all know the task for a virtually bankrupt country is most difficult."

One main reason for our huge population is the fact that we live healthier lives, live longer than we used to, and have the remarkably large figure of 69 years for our expectation of life at birth, that is, the average baby will live to be 69 years old. Of course this means that there are more of us and that we have a large proportion of pensionable people, a proportion which is increasing. It may be mentioned that our average age is over 35 years, whereas fifty years ago it was 27.

But as regards subsistence we should be in a better state if the population were smaller, and if, in addition, we were able to produce more home-grown food. What is to be thought of a country that allows some fifty-thousand acres of agricultural land to go out of cultivation every year for housing and industrial development ? And insufficient attention has been paid to the question of emigration to other European-settled territories in the Commonwealth. Expert military opinion is in favour of some dispersal of our population. In the next war, if it comes, we should find the food question even more difficult than before.

Now let us turn to the more general question. It was as far back as 1755 that Cantillon published in France his *Essai sur la nature du commerce en general*. He laid down the proposition that the number of inhabitants of a state depends upon the means of subsistence, and that men multiply like mice in a barn if they have unlimited means of subsistence. He taught that numbers and well-being may be opposed. His essay seems to have made little stir in the world.

But it was very different with Thomas Robert Malthus, who was born in 1766, was a Cambridge wrangler, and became a clergyman of the Church of England. " In 1798 he published the first edition of his great work, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. This put forward the view that population when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio, while subsistence only increases in an arithmetical ratio, and Malthus asserts as a fact that population always increases up to the limit of the means of subsistence".[4] A second edition was issued in 1803, and several other editions followed, the sixth in 1826. He became professor at Haileybury College in 1805 and died there in 1834. It is known that Darwin read the *Essay* in 1838 and that he was impressed by it. In the *Introduction* to *The Origin of Species* (1859) Darwin described "the Struggle for Existence amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from the high geometrical ratio of their increase . . . . . this is the doctrine of Malthus, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms."

The Malthusian theory as applied to humanity was looked upon as largely disproved during the heyday of British prosperity and wealth and power, which resulted from the industrial revolution, the expansion of trade, the availability of new sources of wealth overseas, and, we should add, a vigorous process of emigration. And in those days, and for some time after, and even occasionally now, the words Malthusian or Neo-Malthusian were and are applied almost in terms of abuse. But our population has gone on increasing and it now definitely presses against the means of our subsistence.

But let us now turn to the world picture. We can safely take our view from a pronouncement recently issued by the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations. It is therein stated that the world's population, in recent decades, has been growing at an increasing pace. "The fastest growth had occurred in those underdeveloped areas which were relatively more advanced, such as Latin America, because the birth-rate there had remained at about 40 a thousand, while the death-rate had dropped to about 17".[5] The report goes on to say that Asia, "with more than half the world's population, still had the high death-rate of 25 to 32 a thousand to offset the high birth-rate of 40 to 45, with the result that the increase in population had hitherto been moderate". But, as a fact, if we turn to India, we do find rapid growth of numbers; the census of 1951 showed a huge increase in Hindu India alone of 42 millions since 1941. This increase is largely due to a decrease in mortality. The writings of Dr. Chandrasekhar should be studied. The Indian Planning Commission has stated that India's food problem is not a temporary one,[6] but is "a manifestation of the continually growing pressure of population on food supply". The present state of affairs involves a miserable existence for many of the people. In a recent B.B.C. broadcast there was an allusion to the incurable over-population of India. And Prime Minister Nehru has said that the State should encourage birth-control and family planning.

All authorities on the subject agree that world population is increasing at a rapid rate. In 1949 Dr. G. C. L. Bertram wrote an important pamphlet dealing with the question of numbers and quoted with approval a statement by Sir John Boyd Orr, to the effect that the human race may possibly, but only possibly, solve the food problem, and that, if not solved, there will be chaos in the world in the next fifty years.[7]

In January, 1951, Mr. Maurice Webb, then Minister of Food, said that " the world was passing into an Oliver Twist phase of wanting more food and of having more mouths to feed ". In a B.B.C. talk in February, 1951, Sir James Scott Watson quoted Mr. Dodd as saying, " Any night as we go to bed, we may ask ourselves what we can find for breakfast, for the 50,000 extra who will be us in the morning ". Sir James, who is Director General of the National Agricultural Advisory Service, said, on 13th August, 1952, " he thought there was a grave risk that mankind would be too late in achieving a stabilization of world population and that we should ultimately be faced with world famine ".

Dr. Julian Huxley in a letter to *The Times* of 15th March, 1951, wrote, " The problem becomes steadily more acute. The daily net addition to the world's population is now nearly 60,000, as against about half that when I was born, and is steadily rising. Even more alarming is the fact that the rate of increase of world population (compound interest rate a year) is also steadily increasing, in spite of the falling off in regions like western Europe ". Elsewhere he has alluded to this matter as probably the greatest problem of our time.

Sir William Slater, discussing science and agriculture at the British Association meeting at Belfast, in September, 1952, said that increasing human population pressed hard on the heels of available food supplies, and, if food production did not improve, famine was inevitable. And Mr. Robert C. Cook, in his book *Human Fertility*, preaches on much the same theme and stresses the need for a population policy.[8]

The human population of the world is believed to have increased from 1,171 millions in 1850 to 2,378 millions in 1949, giving an average increase per annum of 12 millions. But it is known that the total in 1930 was about 2,010 millions, so that since 1930 the increase has been at the rate of over 19 millions a year, that is, about 53,000 a day.[9]

And the future ? The first requirement for the immediate future of the next generation or two, is that the world should be made aware of the condition of things, and that statesmen of all countries should take such steps as may be necessary to increase the food supply and to prevent excessive local pressure of population. We have as present-day examples of over-population India, Egypt, Italy, Japan, some of the West India Islands, and the list could be extended.

The very distant future is the subject of Sir Charles Darwin's striking and original book, *The Next Million Years,* in which there will be found two important propositions. The first, that the human race may last in its present form, for, say a million years, without substantial change. And, the second, that the numbers of human beings will always tend to press upon the means of subsistence, and that there will probably always be a margin of the under-fed. But we may be permitted to hope that, long before the end of the otherwise depressing prospect presented to us, the human race will have worked out some sensible plan of population control.

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[1] Carr-Saunders. *World Population.* Oxford. 1936. p. 17.

[2] L. J. Cadbury. *This Question of Populations. News Chronicle* Publications Dept. 1945.

[3] *Census* 1951. *England and Wales.* Preliminary Report. H.M. Stationery Office, 1951.

[4] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 14th Edn. Art. Malthus.

[5] *The Times,* May 14, 1952.

[6] *The First Five Year Plan.* A Draft Outline. Delhi. 1951.

[7] G. C. L. Bertram. *Population Trends and the World's Biological Resources.* Eugenics Society, Occasional Paper, 1949.

[8] Robert C. Cook. *Human Fertility*: The Modern Dilemma. New York. 1951.

[9] *Chronicle* of World Health Organization. 1951.

REVIEWS

A VINTAGE BOOK

HYMNS AND HUMAN LIFE. By ERIK ROUTLEY. John Murray. 16s.

IT is difficult to describe this book except in terms which will seem extravagant to those who have not yet read it. It is a book that we have all been waiting for. Julian is, of course, the indispensable foundation for any profound study of hymnology, and the Historical Edition of A. and M. contains much valuable information. But this is an intensely human book, written by a master of the subject, who combines a quick understanding in the fear of the Lord with a nice, even a fine literary judgement, and a pretty wit. He tells us a great many interesting facts about hymns and their writers, he distinguishes with sure precision the periods of the development of English hymnology and their social and political background, and illustrates his verdicts by adequate but not too voluminous quotations. His work is in effect a companion-volume to Prothero's famous *Psalms*, but the conditions are quite different. Prothero (Lord Ernle) traced the story of the use of 150 Psalms in 2,000 years of Christian history. Dr. Routley has only about 300 years of what we now call hymnody, and perhaps half a million hymns.

The plan of the book is first to discourse of hymns in general, not forgetting to devote some attention to the curious fact that some people actually dislike them. The treatment then becomes historical. There are chapters on the first centuries, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, Luther and German hymnody, the Puritans, Watts and Wesley. These two are carefully compared and contrasted, and shown to be the founders of the liturgical and the devotional schools. So we come to " the Great Century ", 1750-1850, beginning with Newton and Cowper, who are the Watts and Wesley of their period. Here, though " his name would not appear in anybody's list of the half-dozen greatest hymns ", James Montgomery is " *the* typical English hymn-writer ". In this section the author is at his best in discerning and describing the background of hymns. We all knew that " Mine eyes have seen the glory " dates from the great American controversy over the emancipation of slaves, and we knew perhaps that " When wilt Thou save the people " was wrung out of " the hungry forties ", but not all of us knew that " Lord of our life " refers, in its author's own words, to " the state of the Church, that is to say, the Church of England, in 1834—assailed from without, enfeebled and distracted within, but on the eve of a great awakening ", or that " The Church's one foundation " was a shot fired in the Gray and Colenso controversy.

More surprising—and indeed most edifying—is it to learn that *Nun Danket* was written in a small town in Saxony, harrowed by war, famine and pestilence in 1636, where part of the author's recent duties had been to bury nearly 5,000 people. We are introduced to many fine hymns by Free Church writers, and there are some apposite stories, especially one about Archbishop Vernon Harcourt. There might have been one about the African Dr. Aggrey and "All hail the power of Jesu's Name", which would have enriched the book. There are some wise judgements about tunes, and many of us will note with pleasure a reference to " that brave musician Martin Shaw ".

The remainder of the volume is less easy to summarize. Part II is about the hymn-writers, who come from all regions and very varied walks of life. This section contains something about the negro spirituals, the anti-dogmatists, Moody and Sankey, and hymns written by and for young people. Young hymn-writers are surprisingly numerous. Part III has involved much curious research into the hymn-lists of Westminster Abbey and other churches. It records the hymns that have actually been sung on a number of occasions since 1861, and it is a fascinating contribution to the history of English religion. The favourite hymn is " Praise, my soul ". A final chapter discusses the question—what is a good hymn? The author for the most part either commends or is silent, but he cannot refrain from printing in one place what is surely the worst hymn in the world.

Which is the best? He believes that Watts " scaled the greatest heights and plumbed the bathetic abysses ", but on the whole he awards the first prize to " The Head that once ". "Our God our help " (which is the original version) has a place which is all its own, and " When I survey " and " Give me the wings of faith " are " among the supreme English hymns ". The greatest of all the translations is Carlyle's version of *Ein feste Burg*, though Mrs. Alexander's St. Patrick and Catherine Winckworth's " Now thank we " are well up. Mrs. Alexander is also " the queen of hymn-writers for children ". All readers will learn of many fine hymns that are new to them, not only as between Anglicans and Free Churchmen, but within their own fold. Why, for example, did I never know Canon Crum's exquisite little hymn for children, " O once in a while ", " the only example ", our author says, " in all the literature that intentionally uses humour "?. Among others that are warmly praised are " O God of earth and altar ", about which he does not echo the criticism sometimes made that it is too closely packed with thought for congregational use, " Judge Eternal " and Whittiers' two famous hymns, " Dear Lord and Father " and " Immortal Love ". Let this sentence serve to illustrate our author's discernment. Commenting on one line of " When I survey ", he says, " How many youthful imaginations have been caught by the word 'amazing'—so blunted and cheapened by the corrosive vulgarity of modern journalism, but here so solemn and so august ".

He disarms criticism by saying that readers must not expect to find their favourite hymn mentioned. This I find fair enough so far as some people's choices are concerned, but for myself I cherish a little grievance because I can find no allusion to "O little town of Bethlehem", "The sun is sinking fast", and "Drop, drop, slow tears", but perhaps they are discounted as sentimental. Also the Eucharistic hymns are by design almost entirely excluded. One of the few mentioned, and praised, is Gladstone's "O lead my blindness by the hand".

I have noted one or two inaccuracies. The great scholar-Dean was Joseph Armitage Robinson, not John. It is not the precise fact that Philip, E. B. Pusey's brother, "did not himself enter the Church". And I have always believed that "the dark Satanic mills" were not those of Lancashire and Yorkshire, but, so to speak, the John Stuart mills of Individualistic Sensationalism, in which, as Scott Holland once said, Oxford lay abjectly imprisoned, till a Tutor of Balliol led his disciples into a more "green and pleasant land". But these are trifles. The book is a vintage book.

S. C. CARPENTER.

ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES

ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES. By C. H. DODD. Nisbet. 10s. 6d.

IT is safe to say that this is one of the most important, original and stimulating books on the New Testament that has appeared for some time. Its scope needs to be carefully noted: it is not a general discussion of the use of the Old Testament in the New, but rather an examination of the way the New Testament writers applied the scriptures of the Old Covenant to the "saving events" of the gospel, and of what they understood by saying that certain things had happened "according to the scriptures". The author begins from the postulate of Rendel Harris which has won a wide, if vague and guarded, assent from many scholars, that there existed in the Early Church a collection of messianic "proof-texts" for the life and work of Christ. This was drawn upon by various New Testament writers, and accounts for the fact that different writers quote the same texts and even, which is still more striking, the same *combinations* of texts.

Professor Dodd then examines in detail fifteen such texts or combinations of texts which are quoted by two or more New Testament writers. For the cases he discusses he comes to the conclusion that the use of the same quotation is not to be explained by the hypothesis that one author is copying another, but that rather we have independent references to passages which Christian tradition had come to treat as testimonies to the gospel facts. So far, Professor Dodd's inquiry would seem to confirm Rendel Harris. But he observes two further phenomena. One is that even when different writers quote the same passage, they by no means always agree on the *extent* of the quotation. The other is that there frequently appear in the New Testament to be quotations, hints or paraphrases of material which in the Old Testament surrounds the key testimonies, even though such references may be confined to a single New Testament book.

The conclusions Professor Dodd draws from his examination of these two points provide the most novel and fascinating part of his work. They suggest, he argues, that the first Christian writers did not draw on a collection of isolated proof-texts, but rather they were working with a tradition which selected certain lengthy Old Testament passages, notably from the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and certain minor prophets, as pointing particularly to Christ. Professor Dodd does not mean, if I have understood him rightly, that there was ever evolved a Scripture consisting solely of these passages, a sort of large-scale testimony book or what we might call by analogy with a certain modern production, the Bible Designed to be Read as Prediction. But Christians returned especially to certain sections of the Old Testament which seemed particularly significant to them as furnishing the substructure of their theology. In his two last chapters, which one would like to commend more fully did space permit, the author examines the fundamentals of this theology as they are illuminated by the Old Testament, and has some very pertinent remarks about the way in which the New Testament writers actually thought of the scriptures of the Old Covenant.

Nothing is more striking in contemporary New Testament study than the attention now paid to the Old Testament background. But only too often the reader has been left at the mercy of the critic's subjective interpretation of particular passages, based on unproven assumptions about the literary and theological methods of the Biblical writers. We need a succession of volumes—and the present book forms a brilliant beginning—which will carefully examine the really clear cases where the New Testament does refer to the Old. And, when we notice how considerable a number of these cases point to a non-Septuagintal text, it is important that the critics who do this work should be at home, as Professor Dodd is, in Semitics; for over-reliance on the Septuagint has its dangers for the New Testament scholar.

It is only possible to deal here with a very few of the questions that this book raises. Few will quarrel with Professor Dodd's criticisms of Rendel Harris, or will wish to dispute his contention that a number of extended Old Testament passages early assumed a special significance for the Church. But it is doubtful if he has entirely disposed of the view that there were also one or more collections of individual proof-texts on which the New Testament writers may have drawn. The use of the combination of Is. xxviii, 16, and viii, 14, in a non-Septuagintal form in both Romans and I. Peter is still best explained by some such hypothesis. Again, in the fourth-century fragment of a Testimony Book printed in vol. III of the Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, there are a number of passages from Isaiah, extending once to as much as three verses, several of which come from those sections of the prophecy which Professor Dodd describes as " primary sources of testimonies ". In the papyrus, the passages in question are not arranged topically, as are the texts in Cyprian's *Testimonia*; but neither does it seem that they are meant to bear any relation to their *contexts* in Isaiah, for it is noteworthy that a quotation from Is. lxvi is sandwiched between quotations from Is. xlii and lii. In the light of this, I feel that Professor Dodd not infrequently outruns the evidence when he is trying to identify the extended Old Testament sections which were viewed and used as *wholes* by the New Testament writers. Thus, he considers the entire book of Hosea as such a section, but he is himself forced to admit that there is no cogent evidence for the use of the book in the New Testament except for the first two chapters and a few other isolated verses. And it is possible that the evidence that early Christian thinkers had in mind the whole of the first two chapters of Hosea is not as strong as Professor Dodd suggests. He appears to hold that the phrase *hoi ouk ėleemenoi* in I. Pet. i, 10 is based on the LXX of Hos. i, 6-8, and ii, 1. But Alexandrinus and Marchalianus read at Hos. ii, 25 (23) *eleeso ten Ouk-eleemenen,* which is preferred by Rahlfs, and if this is adopted there is nothing in the quotation in I Pet. i, 10, which requires a reference to any verse other than Hos. ii, 25 (23). Again, if an extremely tentative suggestion may be ventured, neither Mt. xxi, 5, nor Jn. xii, 15, actually quote the *chaire sphodra* of Zec. ix, 9: the first has *eipate te thygatri,* the second *me phobou.* It is just possible that the striking differences between the two evangelists may be accounted for by a common reference to another Old Testament passage. For Zeph. iii, 14a is identical with Zec. ix, 9a; but if we follow the Zephaniah passage down to v. 16 we find *erei kyrios te Ierousalem Tharsei Sion.* The *erei* may be echoed in Matthew's *eipate,* while John's *me phobou* is closer to the Hebrew *'al-tìra'i* than the LXX rendering *tharsei.* May it be that the two evangelists both knew a " testimony " which linked a passage in Zephaniah with one in Zechariah? This may well be quite fanciful, but the fact that one is stimulated to make it at all is a measure of the invigorating quality of Professor Dodd's work and of the extent of territory it opens up.

J. R. PORTER.

PASCAL

PASCAL: HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By JEAN MESNARD. Translated by G. S. FRASER. PREFACE by MGR. RONALD KNOX. Harvill Press.

THIS is a work of outstanding value as a source of factual information. M. Mesnard presents us with the latest results of research bearing on the facts of Pascal's life and opinions. In particular, his arrangement of the *Pensées* has been recovered, so that it is now possible to follow in its due order the argument of the apologetic for which they were written, and other fragments have been distinguished as never intended for the Apology. Misrepresentations made in the interest of edification by Pascal's sister, Gilberte Pèrier, are corrected. Pascal's conversion did not, as she would have it, inaugurate a life of consistent, though in some respects fanatical, sanctity. He did not abandon science. And on occasions he displayed a self-assertion, even arrogance, which proved that the old Adam, if scotched, had not been killed. But a stained glass saint is hardly credible and not in all respects attractive. We prefer M. Mesnard's Pascal to Gilbert's. M. Mesnard also proves that the dying Pascal did not retract his Jansenism. On the other hand, he was perfectly sincere in his profession of Catholic faith and obedience. For, as the author points out, he did not believe there was any contradiction between his Jansenism and Catholic orthodoxy. Gallicans did not believe in papal infallibility.

M. Mesnard brings out the empirical character of Pascal's apologetic—as indeed one might expect from a scientist. The truth of Christianity is shown by the fact that it alone accounts for man's experience of his own nature, at once so noble and so wretched. Could Pascal have known of man's stupendous achievements in modern times in knowledge and power, and the depths of suffering and degradation produced by his folly and sin, the force of this argument would have been even stronger. On the other hand, the arguments from miracles and prophecy can no longer bear the weight he attached to them, at any rate not in the form in which they were then, as still in text-books they are, presented.

It is to be regretted, despite the literary brilliance of the *Lettres Provinciales,* that Pascal was so deeply involved in the dreary and largely academic conflict between the Jansenists and their opponents. The antinomies of grace and free will are surely insoluble to our human vision. Perhaps the most regrettable feature of the controversy was the attempt to compel the Jansenists to swear that the five condemned propositions were actually taught by Jansen. One does not see how such a fact, if true, could be contained even implicitly in the revelation made by Christ and his Apostles. On the other hand, the Jesuits were surely justified in attempting to keep *l'homme moyen sensuel* in living membership of the Church. Pascal's road must lead to the impossible attempt to set up a Church confined to the righteous —an attempt doomed to failure and calculated to favour the Pharisee at the expense of the publican.

But one had rather dwell on Pascal, the man of delicate and unobtrusive charity, the anonymous benefactor of the destitute girl, who invented the omnibus for the benefit of the poorer folk and devoted the profits to the poor, than on Pascal the controversialist. And above all I am attracted to the Memorial in which he set down immediately afterwards the experience of God which was his definitive if imperfect, conversion. As Mgr. Knox points out in his Preface, its distinctive value lies just in this: that the experience was recorded at the time, and still red hot. We are grateful to M. Mesnard for the reproduction and transcription. But we should have liked further discussion of its contents, an analysis distinguishing between a pure, or almost pure, statement of the experience and what even at the time was conceptual interpretation.

We cannot, however, agree with Mgr. Knox that a mystical experience is rightly termed "emotion" (vii). It is intuition normally invested with emotion. Nor can I agree with M. Mesnard and Pascal himself, if the former understands him correctly, that the existence of God cannot be rationally proved. Pascal's knowledge and love of the Bible were by no means so extraordinary, even for Catholics reacting unduly from their opponents' bibliolatry, as M. Mesnard makes out. We have noted a few slips. Surely we should in English speak of a king's coronation, not his consecration (47). We cannot speak of "remorse" in respect of future conduct (f3). Ba*l*us should be Ba*i*us (73) and pr*e*scribe pr*o*scribe (87).

E. I. WATKIN.

EUCHARISTIC THEORY

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By A. J. B. HIGGINS. (Studies in Biblical Theology. No. 6.) S.C.M. Press. 7s.

MR. Higgins has done a real service to English scholarship in this little work, which brings together a good deal of material not readily available elsewhere. If he is deeply indebted to Jeremias, he is far from merely offering a summary of "Eucharistic Sayings of Jesus" He offers a valuable critique of Lietzmann's theory of two types of Eucharist current in the early Church and a careful and independent treatment of the Last Supper narratives of the Synoptists and St. Paul.

While expressly disclaiming the temptation to mount his own particular denominational platform (a Dutch Jesuit review, for example, believes him to be an Anglican writer), it is not certain that he has completely succeeded. Many readers will find his treatment of the relation between the Presence of Christ and the Eucharistic elements somewhat unsatisfactory. The consideration that a particular view would have been "quite impossible" to a Jew is hardly decisive. As Vincent Taylor points out, the real criterion is rather what would be possible to a Jew who was beginning to believe in Jesus. John VI is certainly relevant here (*cf.* his p. 82). The interpretation of the words of institution, "This is my life, myself. made available by my death", deserves further consideration. We have, of course, all of us, got beyond the stage of thinking that *Hoc est corpus meum* merely closes the debate.

His final chapter considers the Eucharistic teaching of the Fourth Gospel. He finds the explanation of the absence of narrative of the Institution of the Eucharist in the fact that for the writer its signifiance blended so closely with that of the Cross that further comment eemed superfluous. This is certainly part of the truth, but it does not xplain the introduction of the Eucharistic Discourse in Chapter VI. s not this due to the anxiety of the writer to put his reader in possesion of the main clues to his thought as early as possible? There is n exact parallel in the Baptismal discourse of Chapter III. If this xplanation is accepted, it weakens somewhat the reasons for prefering the Synoptic dating to that of St. John.

This is, however, an excellent little book and its price should nsure it a ready and deserved circulation.

H. E. W. TURNER.

DR. BULTMANN ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

HE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By RUDOLF BULTMANN. Volume I. S.C.M. Press. 25s.

HE appearance of an English Translation of the first Volume of udolf Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament* is one more ervice to English scholarship made by the enterprise of the S.C.M. ress. But it sets the would-be reviewer an awkward problem ecause it stands midway in Bultmann's own development between is work on the sources of the Gospel Tradition which he assumes ithout further discussion and his more recent bombshell on Demythologization". Relatively little attention is paid to the latter oncept, though the use of words like "desecularize" and "dehistoriize" already reveal the general set of the author's mind.

Taken as a whole, the work represents exactly the way in which New Testament theology can be most profitably written. It is well rranged, packed with material, fully documented and splendidly ndexed. The general treatment of St. Paul, the discussion on New estament psychology and most, though not all, of the section on the *erugma* of the Hellenistic Church, will be found invaluable to any cholar.

But if there is much in the book which can only command our espectful admiration, there is much, too, that will arouse sharp issent. The material which Bultmann uses as authentic evidence for e life of Jesus is scanty enough. Jesus is the eschatological teacher ho makes a sharp demand for decision and whose message turns into cry of woe and a call to repentance. Belief that Jesus was the uffering Servant, the Messiah and, still more, the Son of God all eflect a later stage in Church tradition, the first the fruit of reflexion n the Cross, the second suggested by the Easter Faith, the third rough contact with Hellenistic religion and its conception of "divine en".

The attempt to divide the material at this point involves, however, riticism with a pen-knife of such a kind as to make Marcion appear s a mere fumbling beginner! If the baptism of Jesus by John is historical, all else here is legend. The Temptation narrative must be set aside and the Confession at Caesarea Philippi and the Transfiguration belong rather to the Easter Faith of the Church. Legend has also deeply overlaid the Entry into Jerusalem, and even the Passion narrative itself (pp. 26-7). Bultmann evidently attempts the precarious task of constructing a Christology after ruling out of court the principal Christological passages. His list of genuine Pauline letters is incidentally far less numerous than Marcion's.

It looks, then, as if we were back before Schweitzer at the quest for a nuclear or historical Jesus. The special feature of Bultmann's treatment is, however, the use of material which he rejects for the Historical Jesus as first-class evidence for the historical Church. Thus Bultmann turns from a relentless *Form-Kritik* of the Gospels to a kind of stratification of the Gospel material. With the skill of an archæologist he tries (if we may say so) to reconstruct the ground-plan of the Temple of Jesus in various parts of the Christian world. The difficulty is that much of this reconstruction, though thrilling to follow, is in the highest degree hypothetical. For to explain the Gospels through our knowledge of the Apostolic Age is to pass from one set of incomplete data to another. It is not true that we know the Apostolic Age so much better than the Gospels that we can be confident in assigning various parts of the Gospels with such confidence to the creative community. Besides, it is a serious question whether our knowledge of the Primitive Church justifies us in assuming anything like this degree of creativity.

There is, however, an even more serious difficulty of method. There is no doubt about the deep impression which even his residual Jesus has had upon Bultmann himself. " Half decision is abomination " is a apothegm of Bultmann himself for which more orthodox Christians should be grateful. But cannot the continuity between the full figure of the Gospels and the nucleus of information which Bultmann allows us be drawn very much closer than he will admit? For the evidence does not come away at all cleanly at the points which Bultmann indicates; the seamless robe tears and breaks away. Bultmann admits the need for a Christology of some kind yet does not seem to see that even what he admits to be historical carries him well beyond his own premisses. Jesus himself, his presence, his deeds and his message, are signs of the times. His exorcisms are Messianic—and yet Jesus himself is not Messiah. He is a prophet—yet his prophecies of his own death and resurrection must be *post eventum*. " The Old Testament legislation, so far as it consists of cultic and ritual prescription has been lifted off its hinges by Jesus " (p. 17). But to do this implies a " high " Christology and that is precisely what Bultmann will not allow to history.

There is, in fact, an alternative to the stratification theory of Bultmann—the view that the New Testament understanding of Jesus was rather a programme of explicating what was already inherent in the Master himself. Is not the understanding of Jesus as the

Suffering Servant already implicit in the reserves, the silences, the ambiguities of the record rather than confined to express comments of the Evangelists themselves, as it were, in the margin of the Gospel narrative? Nor can we justify the growth in the understanding of the cosmic significance of Jesus by the mere hypothesis of Hellenistic or even Gnostic infiltration. It can as readily be understood as a simple explication of what is implicit in the fact of Jesus himself. The Lord who calls for decision, who ushers in the New Age, who through the fact of the Resurrection, inaugurates the Easter experience and the Easter faith cannot be less than the linch-pin of the whole created order. Jesus controls the whole process although the hopes and aspirations of different thought-worlds might have provided in some respects the back-cloth or the sounding board of the whole process. This difficulty of method cuts deep into work itself.

The second main criticism which might be offered is the treatment of so-called Gnostic motifs. Here Bultmann presupposes the conclusions of his work, *Das Urchristenthum.* He will obviously have more to say on this topic in his treatment of the Fourth Gospel. But it would be difficult to substantiate all his statements about the existence and influence of Gnosticism at this period. Where is the evidence that it influenced Philo of Alexandria? And it does not exactly leap to the eye that the Epistle to the Hebrews is "a curious mixture of Gnostic and ecclesiastical-eschatological ideas." Can we assume the existence of a Gnosticizing party at Corinth especially if, as he assumes, the doubts expressed about the Resurrection were of a purely general character? It is hard to see the influence of Gnostic motifs behind the ethical parenesis of Hellenistic Christendom. Granted that the Gnostics used the antithesis of light and darkness, it is surely unnecessary to treat every application of the contrast as evidence for Gnostic influence. And why must belief in demons and of victory over them in Christ be ascribed to this source? Such beliefs are widespread. They occur, for example, in Celsus as well as in Origen, and neither the pagan nor the Christian was a notable friend to Gnosis. Again, to speak of Gnosticism as a phenomenon within Christianity would appear to be at least an exaggeration. Not only does it imply too great an assurance as to what Gnosticism is in itself; the New Testament evidence harmonizes better with an infiltration from without rather than a movement from within.

A word of praise must go to the translator. There are traces of translation English, and one or two sentences look as if they would read more smoothly in the original German. The replacement of "justify" by "rightwise" is an interesting and brave experiment. It is doubtful whether it will long survive. Is "salvation occurrence" really better than "saving act", and is "apologete" rather than "apologist" English at all? And what will most readers make of the reference to iii Kingdoms? But his share of the work is competent and workmanlike.

The book is a splendid quarry for the specialist, an important revelation of one stage of the writer's own mind, a model of teaching method, but the general reader must furnish himself with a liberal supply of question marks. Both in Bultmann's axioms and in the detail which he so copiously provides there is room for another opinion. The welcome which we should give to the book must be tinged with much critical caution in its use. To travel with Bultmann is a thrilling and instructive experience; the beginner will often find the pace breathless and the prospects giddy.

H. E. W. TURNER.

ECCLESIASTES

ECCLESIASTES. A New Translation, with Introduction, Notes, Glossary and Index. By A. D. POWER. Longmans. 8s. 6d.

FOR its size the book of Ecclesiastes is perhaps the most frequently commented in all the Old Testament. Mr. Power fills four pages of his work simply with the names of commentators from A.D. 250 to A.D. 1950, and this list does not include everyone, while, in addition to the present volume, the book list of the Society for Old Testament Study for 1952 notes two further items on Ecclesiastes. This great popularity of the book is probably to be ascribed to two causes. On the one hand, the scholar finds in it fascinating and unsolved exegetical problems. What is the plan, purpose and ultimate message of the writer, and how far have these been obscured, in the text as we have it, by the additions of one or more interpolators? On the other hand, the ordinary reader is stirred by the singular beauty of the rendering of the Authorized Version, perhaps far more beautiful in many places than the Hebrew original, and attracted, as he is also in Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát*, by what he conceives to be the bitter-sweet pessimism of its philosophy of life.

This latter description is not a complete account, to say the least, of the outlook either of the authentic Omar Khayyam or of Qoheleth, and Mr. Power's book should go far to correct many wrong impressions among a wide public. His Introduction provides a conspectus of the views of previous scholars on various critical questions connected with Ecclesiastes, which will prove valuable for the scholar as well as for the non-expert. The information he gives is almost always accurate—though on p. 1, by an obvious slip, Luther is attributed to the fourteenth century—and his judgements are invariably sound and cautious: when he sees no clear solution of a problem, he is not afraid to say so. As an example of Mr. Power's good sense, one may instance what he has to say on p. 7 about Qoheleth's " pessimism " and his trenchant comment that if this is held to imply " cowardice, melancholia, hypochondriasis, or atheism ", then the description must be rejected as far as Ecclesiastes is concerned. The Introduction might have profited by a few words on the similarities between the thought of Qoheleth and some of the gloomier aspects of Mesopotamian religion, similarities which go far to obviate the necessity for postulating any very important Greek influence on the book. It is true that the author, in a note on p. 107, quotes the Gilgamesh Epic to illustrate Eccles. ix, 7-9, and it is therefore all the more surprising that he should comment that these verses show " a decidedly Epicurean tinge ".

The translation is clear and readable, and doubtful renderings are generally justified by careful notes. At one or two places, however, the translation as it stands might mislead the reader who has no Hebrew. For example, the famous verse i, 9, is rendered: "And there is nothing completely new under the sun ". This would suggest that there is at least a certain amount of novelty under the sun, which is not what the original really implies: if one wants to express in English the extra emphasis which the Hebrew may have, would it not be better to say " there is nothing *at all* new under the sun "? On p. 37 the words " under heaven " or " under the heavens " appear to have dropped out of the translation of iii1, though they are presupposed by the note on p. 144. vii, 7b, is rendered as " and a bribe breaketh the heart ". As the author notes, this is certainly a literal translation of the Hebrew; but to " break the heart " has a quite clear, emotional significance in English which does not fit the original, since in Hebrew the heart is primarily the seat of the intellect. And anyway, whatever else a bribe might do, it would be unlikely to break anyone's heart, in the English sense of the expression! " Something like " corrupts the mind ", as in the Revised Standard Version, gives a better sense. The note on vii, 18, on p. 96 seems to imply that " will evade " stands in the translation and " come out of " is the literal rendering given in the notes: the text on p. 44, however, has "come out of ". At ix, 2, " he that feareth "—or " respecteth "—" an oath " would mean the same as "he that sweareth", and to make the contrast we need something like " he that shuns an oath ". The phrase " the heart of the wise is on his right ", x, 2, looks odd: would not the most likely sense be better expressed by " the heart of the wise is toward the right ", i.e. the good? On the other hand, some of Mr. Power's renderings are very happy—e.g., at iv, 5, " and wasteth away ", is a considerable improvement on the more literal " and eateth his own flesh " of the common English versions.

J. R. Porter.

A MONUMENTAL WORK

Concise Bible Commentary. By W. K. Lowther Clarke. S.P.C.K. 30s.

It almost takes one's breath away to realize that this monumental book should be the unaided work of one man, even if he did take 40 years over it. It contains all but 1,000 pages of commentary on the Old Testament, the Apocrypha and New Testament (R.V.), including

340 pages of general introductory matter, a most useful 25-page glossary of key-words, and a not inadequate, but limited, index to what one might call non-concordance subjects of the Bible. As the author says in his preface, the book does not pretend to be a theological commentary, but, as he rightly thinks, one-man authorship conduces to conciseness and unity of treatment. And conciseness is very necessary when one has to condense into so few pages commentaries on 71 different books, many of which are written in different styles, in three languages and with glosses, interpolations and not a few obscurities, to say nothing of mistranslations.

The author has sensibly made no attempt at documentation, but acknowledges (in his preface) help received from the Rev. S. Jellicoe, of Bishop Otter College, Chichester, who read and pointed out errors in the Old Testament articles and commentaries.

Even if a reviewer were a master of conciseness, like the author of this book, it would be impossible in a few hundred words to give anything like the notice it deserves. One must therefore be content to convey in the minimum of words the maximum amount of information about it.

The author divides his favours fairly evenly through his commentaries on the text and his chapters dealing with the Bible generally, and states at the very outset that the Old Testament is indispensable, and without it, a knowledge of the New is often incomprehensible and much of its meaning lost; in short, the Church of the New Covenant which arose from the teaching of Christ is, compared with the old Jewish religion, like a man grown out of childhood; moreover, though the New Testament contains many quotations from the Old, much that was in the Old Testament was so well known that the New Testament had no need to repeat them; thus the New Testament is not complete without a proper undestanding of the Old.

The early part of Canon Clarke's book contains 29 chapters, some general, some concerned with the Old and some with the New Testaments, and others on History, Geography, Archæology, Chronology, Doctrine, Sacrifice and so on. There are also (mostly in the introduction) 17 maps and plans.

As a bird's-eye view of the Bible it is an invaluable book of reference which should always be at hand. Its commentaries, of course, are not the sort that one would buy, if one were seriously studying a particular book of the Bible, but they serve their purpose admirably, especially if the owner has not a good commentary handy on a particular book, and this is more than likely to be the case with the Apocrypha and in a lesser degree with the Old Testament.

The preliminary chapters carry one along. The author is no fundamentalist and in his essay on Miracle, from Elisha's axe-head to the Resurrection and beyond, he gives impartially the arguments of those who hold varying views: indeed, he is so anxious to give all sides of a question that sometimes it is not always clear which side he himself favours—that, perhaps, may be due to difficulties caused by excessive compression.

As far as the commentaries are concerned, they are tantalizing, because they are so laconic, but wonderful for compressing so much in so small a space. One can find little, in a quick search, that is missing from what the student should really need by way of comment. Of course for a deeper study of any particular book he must consult commentaries with more detail.

The 26-page Glossary containing 165 entries, which seems little enough for the whole of the Bible, is most useful and ample. The key-words are chiefly from the Old Testament, or perhaps it would be fairer to say words which have their origin there, such as Peace, Sin, Soul and Spirit (but not Heart). The New Testament too has its proper share of words like Ascension, Baptism, Christian, Communion, Synagogue. Words like Clothing, Trade, Incarnation and Virgin Birth are not included; they must be looked for in Section I and reference to them will be found in the Index, which, as has been said, is limited, but adequate and compiled with common sense.

The book is well planned, well printed and well bound, and at to-day's prices is remarkably good value.

A. D. Power.

APOLOGETIC FOR THE GENERAL READER

Christian Belief To-day. By J. W. C. Wand, W. R. Matthews, V. A. Demant and Lindsay Dewar. Mowbray. 15s.

The School of Religion which took place in the diocese of London during Lent, 1952, comprised two sets of lectures, parochial and diocesan. The diocesan were delivered by the Bishop, the Dean, and Canons Demant and Dewar in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, and St. Martin-in-the-Fields. The four courses ran to twenty addresses, some of them being delivered simultaneously. It was geographically impossible for listeners to attend all. The appearance of the entire set of the diocesan lectures in this one volume provides the first opportunity for each audience to hear what was said to the others.

The book will also appeal to a wider circle, for it provides a useful conspectus of Christian belief with its particular bearings upon problems of the day. Dr. Wand's course, "The Scheme of Salvation", is primarily theological; Dr. Matthews's, "Problems of Christian Belief", philosophical; Canon Demant's "Man and the Social Order", sociological; Canon Dewar's "Personality and Human Relations", ethical. Of these, the first sets the scene:

> By the scheme of salvation we mean nothing less than God's plan for our eternal welfare. Normally we are accustomed to think of God's dealing with us only in bits and pieces. We concentrate either upon some particular commemoration in the course of the

> Church's year, or upon some particular aspect of the soul's training in religion. But when we stop to consider the whole scheme of salvation we try to put these various pieces into their place in a complete and ordered system. Some such scheme is a necessity for every thinking person.

It is this insistence upon the need to appreciate and accept the Christian religion as a whole which characterizes the approach of this book and will commend it to speakers and preachers as well as to the reading public. A general survey in this manner is rendered the more essential by the fashion of contemporary thinkers to be preoccupied with separate themes and individual words.

There are few novelties in these pages, but that itself suggests that there are few speculations. If most of what is here written is a summary of what the lecturers have previously been teaching, the fact that it is conveniently gathered adds value to the book. There is one consideration which will limit its circulation. The book is intended for the general reader, and not for the specialist; but the general reader wants less expensive books, and it would be an admirable arrangement if the four courses of lectures could be issued, separately and more cheaply, in pamphlet-form, with the addition of a short bibliography and questions for discussion groups.

W. W. S. March.

AN IMPORTANT KEY-WORD

Gnosis. By Rudolf Bultmann. Adam and Charles Black.

This book is the fifth in a series of manuals from Kittel, translated and edited by J. R. Coates. Each volume, like the present one, deals with a Bible Key-Word from Gerhard Kittel's well-known *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. In this volume Professor R. Bultmann, the famous exponent of *formgeschichte*, deals with the important New Testament word *gnosis*. The method of treatment is necessarily lexical, which, though extremely valuable, does not make for easy reading. Dr. Bultmann proceeds to trace the various meanings of γιγνώσκω and its derivatives, first in Greek literature, then in Gnostic usage, Old Testament, including the LXX, later Jewish, early Christian, ending with a brief discussion of early Patristic usage and compounds.

The manual can only be used to profit with the Hebrew text, the LXX, and the Greek Testament constantly open at the reader's side. It cannot be hastily skimmed through, but provides a most valuable tool for the serious student.

From the nature of the book it is not to be expected that any particular dogmatic tendencies should make their appearance, yet in one or two places the characteristic attitude of the neo-orthodox position may be observed; for example, in the footnote to p. 47 we find the statement, " God cannot be known apart from Jesus ", involving the whole question of natural revelation so hotly debated between Barth and Brunner.

One of the most valuable features of the study of the various uses of the words for "knowledge" is the way in which it brings out the interesting change in emphasis to be observed in the way in which the Hellenistic translators of the LXX deal with the Hebrew word *yadha* and its derivatives. The speculative aspect of knowledge, entirely absent from Hebrew, with its tendency to the concrete and ethical aspects of knowledge, clearly makes its appearance in the Greek version of the Old Testament.

The book is also of value in throwing light on the still vexed question of the extent to which St. Paul was dependent on Gnostic or Greek mystery sources in his exposition of the nature of Christian *gnosis*. In his review of Dom Dupont's great book on *Gnosis* in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April, 1952, Dr. Bultmann has shown that he does not accept the contention that St. Paul was entirely free from any Hellenistic or mystery influences in his doctrine of mystical knowledge, while at the same time he deprecates "the danger of a one-sided understanding of St. Paul by means of Hellenistic mysticism or *gnosis*".

In placing this extremely valuable discussion of one of the most important Bible words at the disposal of English students, the utmost praise is due to Mr. Coates, both for the work itself and for the admirable way in which his delicate task of translation and editing has been performed.

S.H.H.

AN IMPORTANT TREATISE

The Explanatio ad Initiandos: A Work of Saint Ambrose (Texts and Studies Volume X). By R. H. Connolly. Cambridge University Press. 10s.

This posthumous study of the late Dom. R. H. Connolly, revised and prepared for the press by the veteran scholar, Canon J. H. Srawley, consists of an Introduction, Text, Translation, Commentary of a brief but important work at first attributed to St. Ambrose by Caspari but later rejected. In a final chapter, Dom Connolly successfully vindicates on stylistic and other grounds the hypothesis of Ambrosian authorship. The treatise itself, though brief, is of great importance for the history of the Apostles Creed, and this study fully maintains the high reputation for careful and critical scholarship of all its editor's work. It is sad that we can expect no more work from the pen of one who has put every student of the Fathers so deeply in his debt.

H. E. W. Turner.

SCHISM

Schism in the Early Church. By S. L. Greenslade. S.C.M. Press. 21s.

Dr. Greenslade's long-awaited book on schism has amply fulfilled the expectations of his many friends. Its principal task is an historical and theological analysis of schism in the early Church, for which the author's specialist knowledge of North African Christianity gave him particular equipment. It is characterized by wide knowledge, sound judgement and scholarly caution, and goes far to justify the high reputation as a Church historian which he already possesses. He has a wise caution against the somewhat optimistic over-estimate of the unity of the Undivided Church, and calls attention to gaps in our evidence for the interavailability of work done in Greek or Latin in the other half of the Christian world. Admittedly there are surprising gaps in the evidence, but it is possible that a different reading of the evidence might be sustained. No doubt allowance must be made for the difference in outlook between the Church historian and the historian of doctrine in the matter. The early Church was not only a meeting ground for ideas and traditions, but also an arena in which very human people contended under the influence of motives which were not altogether characterized by the professional impartiality of the modern scholar. Sweet reasonableness and the scrupulous anxiety to do justice to the other side are not the first characteristics which we associate either with St. Cyril of Alexandria or Nestorius. It remains, however, possible that Dr. Greenslade has somewhat exaggerated the evidence in this respect. In general, however, it is clear that both in matters of historical fact and in the purely historical inferences which he draws from them, Dr. Greenslade has produced a work which will rightly enjoy a high degree of authority for some time to come.

But the work has another side. It is not merely an historical study of the motives and theology of schism in the Early Church; it also contains an interpretation of the facts to the modern quest for closer unity among divided Christians. It is good to find a Church historian who avoids the danger to mere archaism—the condition of being content to live in the past and to collect and interpret the data of past ages while letting the present pass him by. And researchers in the field of inter-Church relations would be all the better for a sound knowledge of the precedents to guide them. Yet the author would be the first to admit that the guidance which the past offers to the present is not unmistakeably clear. There might be room for several different inferences from the same data, and the book will probably be much more heavily criticized for its applications to the present than for its analysis of the past. Here, however, the same characteristic qualities do not desert the author—a scrupulous fairness and balance towards views which he does not hold. If he writes with firm conviction he never allows his own principles to blind him to the equal sincerity and certitude with which other views are maintained.

In this part of the book I found myself much more in agreement with him than I expected. There is common ground in the general ground in the acceptance of the modern theory of schism within the Church—a view difficult to state without falling into paradox and apparent self-contradiction just because the fact with which it deals represents a surd imported into the life of the Church by the sin of man. The inference may be supported by the concessions in practice made by St. Augustine which seem to many of us almost to demand the revision of the premisses of his thought. Agreement may also be found in the need to draw closer together the Church and the Ministry which are left somewhat sundered by the Augustinian concessions. I have sometimes felt that we need a new Cyprianism modifying the clear-cut premisses on the Unity of the Church from which St. Cyprian himself started.

But differences begin to arise upon the inferences which must be drawn from this rephrasing of the doctrine of the Church in modern times. Some of us feel that to be adequate to the facts as we see them the theory of schism within the Church needs to be supplemented by a doctrine of degrees of being a Church. It is still possible upon what might be called post-Augustinian premisses to regard the presence or absence of the historic episcopate as a decisive degree. Dr. Greenslade particularly asks the Anglo-Catholics to explain and, if they can, to justify, their claim not to unchurch those who do not possess this criterion of ministry. I do not think that they will be left even on the new premisses without an answer. I think that the distinction between a prophetic and a priestly ministry as the exact point of difference is dead and deserves to be formally buried as failing to do justice to either side. And many of us are quite prepared to recognize that a *traditio ministrandi* can be meaningfully predicated of non-episcopal ministries. We can go further and note with thankfulness that most of these ministries claim to be like our own, a Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. But there still remains the difficulty of what is included in such a commission. What are we to say, for example, of the formula for Sacramental Confession contained in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick? Is this included within the ambit of the Free Church commission for ministering? The point is not whether its use is right or wrong, necessary or unnecessary, but whether they would themselves feel authorized to use it and whether the penitent would be able to trust their conviction if they did. I think that I dislike the term " validity " almost as much as Dr. Greenslade, and see much point in his critique of its use, but here is the sort of question with which it was coined to deal. It is not an unreal question, and still remains even after the acceptance of the new premisses. I could wish to find a positive resolution of it. There has been of late a much more positive evaluation of non-episcopal ministries much overdue, but there are still grave difficulties present, of which the one noted above is simply one example. We are thankful that episcopalian and non-episcopalian are steadily drawing closer together, but there is still some real difference between us and it must be confessed that the question of the interavailability of ministries is not yet soluble. We cannot as yet jump our fences on the sole ground of the acceptance of the theory of schism within the Church, and, though it reduces the dimensions of the obstacles in our way, it will not necessarily lead every reader of goodwill and theological integrity to the conclusions which Dr. Greenslade so forcibly, clearly and charitably sets out.

The book remains, however, a fine demonstration of Anglican scholarship, to be commended not only for the theological student but also for the general reader who will find not only a clear and skilful presentation of the past but a vigorous and stimulating application to problems which beset us all in the present. If some will find the latter less convincing than the former, their disagreement should not blind them either to the solid achievements which this book represents or the fine qualities of mind and judgement which both parts display.

H. E. W. TURNER.

DR. RAVEN'S GIFFORD LECTURES

NATURAL RELIGION AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY — I. SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By CHARLES E. RAVEN. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

THIS book contains the first series of Gifford Lectures delivered by Dr. Raven in the University of Edinburgh in May 1951. The treatment which he gives to his subject is almost entirely historical, but the sub-title under which the second series, which was delivered a year later, is announced—*Experience and Interpretation*—suggests that a more philosophical treatment is to follow in the subsequent volume.

Dr. Raven makes it clear that his handling of his subject has been governed by two convictions. The first is that former discussions, both of the relation between science and theology and of the history of science as such, have been unduly influenced by a preoccupation with mathematics and physics to the neglect of zoology and botany. In consequences he discusses Isaac Newton in one page, while Conrad Gesner receives twelve. This change of balance gives a refreshing novelty to the picture and enables the author to draw attention to a good many facts which are not generally known. His second governing conviction is that of the fundamental falsity of any tendency to belittle the natural order. Augustinianism, Calvinism and the contemporary revival of dogmatic Protestantism are equally anathema to him, as denials of the essential goodness of the creation of God. At worst they look upon the natural order as totally corrupt; at best they set an uncrossable gulf between the order of nature and the order of grace. With this conviction of Dr. Raven's we may well sympathize, and it is perhaps interesting to observe that such a temperate Barthian as Mr. W. A. Whitehouse, in his recent book *Christian Faith and the Scientific Attitude,* succeeds in keeping Christianity and science from coming to blows only by arranging that they shall never meet. Unfortunately Dr. Raven seems to be unable to envisage any alternative to Calvinistic pessimism except an immanentist theological liberalism; present-day Catholic thought, both Anglican and Roman, is almost entirely ignored and the Catholic tradition of the past is lumped in with Calvinism as having no use for nature. It is this presumably that leads Dr. Raven, on page 73 of his book, to take as applying to St. Thomas Aquinas a passage from Professor Emmet which has no reference to St. Thomas whatever but was explicitly written with reference to Brunner and Barth. For Dr. Raven, if grace is not antagonistic to nature it must be simply continuous with it; there is no recognition of the view that grace supervenes upon nature in order to transform it from within and to bring it to a perfection that it could not achieve for itself. Admittedly there have been pedestrian Thomists who have treated the relation of grace to nature as purely extrinsic, but this is not true of St. Thomas himself or of many present-day Thomists. And Dr. Raven's failure to realize that grace-perfecting-nature is a third alternative to both grace-denying-nature and grace-identical-with-nature leads him into some very strange positions. "An account of the creative process," he writes on page 19, " which regards it as the manifestation and, in some sense, *the embodiment of the divine Spirit* would seem more satisfying and, from the Christian standpoint, more consistent than the traditional view which sees God and the Universe in terms of the Maker and his work or of the King and his realm " (italics mine). On page 119 he describes as " the traditional doctrine of Christendom " what is in fact only a form of deism. On page 31 he tells us that our Lord " instead of concentrating upon the abnormal or clothing his message in the language of the demonic and supernatural, bases his teaching upon the ordinary and the commonplace ", with the implication of a drastic and arbitrary attitude towards the Gospel text. The doctrine of the Incarnation expounded on page 50 seems to be purely evolutionary, and incidentally shows a remarkable misunderstanding of what is meant by the impersonality of Christ's manhood. There is no recognition of the significance of the fundamental part which has been played in the Christian tradition by the doctrine of analogy. It is notable that in the chapter on the Early Church, while Justin, Clement and Origen are expounded at some length, no attention is given to Irenæus; those who have read Dr. L. S. Thornton's *Revelation and the Modern World* will be conscious that under the guidance of Irenæus Dr. Thornton has got to grips with the problem of creation and redemption in a way that is altogether absent from Dr. Raven's discussion. Nobody could question Dr. Raven's erudition or fail to applaud his conviction that Christianity and the scientific spirit are entirely compatible. But a good many readers will feel a sense of disappointment when they find their own position identified with one that is altogether different from it, and which they will agree with Dr. Raven in rejecting as altogether inadequate.

Two particular points may be remarked. 1. On page 72 Dr. Raven asserts that for St. Thomas reason and faith " deal with radically different spheres ", on the basis of his assertion that *impossibile est quod de eodem sit fides et scientia.* As reference to *S. Theol.* II II, i.5 shows, what St. Thomas means by this is simply that it is not possible to apprehend any truth simultaneously *both* on the ground that one sees it for oneself *and also* on the ground that one knows it only because God guarantees it. So far is he from alleging that the realms of the objects of faith and of reason have nothing in common that he explicitly asserts *Potest tamen contingere ut id quod est visum vel scitum ab uno sit creditum ab alio* (ibid.) and also that *necessarium est homini accipere per modum fidei non solum ea quae sunt supra rationem sed etiam ea quae per rationem cognosci possunt,* and this, he adds, for three reasons (*S. Theol.* II II, ii.4). 2. Nor, as a mere matter of language, is it accurate to say on page 128 that the Roman Church denies that animals have souls. It is certainly commonly held by Roman Catholic theologians and philosophers that the souls of animals are not rational or immortal, but the term " soul " (*anima*) is used by them to describe the vital principle of any living material creature, even a tapeworm or a dandelion.

E. L. Mascall.

A PHILOSOPHY OF THE STATE

Between Community and Society. By Thomas Gilby. Longmans, Green. 25s.

By this title (the sub-title is "A Philosophy and Theology of the State ") the author means that he conceives of political relationships as a kind of intermediate grouping of humanity. On the one hand lies " the physical huddle "—" the lumpings formed by physical contact, contiguity, shared production and consumption of material goods ", which he designates by the general word " community ". On the other hand, beyond and above the State, lies pure " society ", in which personality attains its highest value, and all are and treat each other as friends—in other words, an ideal or spiritual association, " the exemplar of all human relationships, and the end to which they fumble ". Fr. Gilby does not think of these three kinds of relationship as successive in time, for, although the State may historically have developed out of something like the first of them, he does not conceive of the third as a future millennium, in which the State will have " withered away " by the operation of a kind of Marxist dialectic. His classification is essentially logical rather than chronological, and is constructed in order to reveal more effectively what political association implies. For to Fr. Gilby the State, while intermediate between a lower and a higher grouping, is not cut off from either, but partakes in some degree of the nature of both.

Like many other writers, he sees as the central problem of politics the relationship between man and his fellows—" the tension between free personality and group membership ". At the lower level this tension does not arise, and at the higher it is solved by the love of God, and of one's neighbour as oneself, but at the intermediate level in which we live, and with which politics are concerned, it presses upon us at every turn. It is a commonplace nowadays to reject as inadequate the individualism of the nineteenth century, and at the same time to recoil from the twentieth-century totalitarianisms which fanatics of various types have sought, and still seek, to impose upon us. Personality demands liberty, yet this is impossible without some sort of organization and control, and so the solution we hear on every side is " planning for freedom ". So far, so good, but how much planning, and what sort of planning? When it comes to detailed programmes, parties are at once at loggerheads, and it is no business of a treatise on political philosophy to do more than suggest the general principles that lie behind possible answers to the question.

Fr. Gilby is deeply versed in scholastic philosophy, and he believes that in these matters we can learn from the thirteenth century. The purpose of his book, therefore, is to discuss these basic questions of human relationship in terms of a detailed study of the work of St. Thomas Aquinas. He writes in a lively and vivid style, and many of his allusions and illustrations are shrewd and penetrating. His quotation from St. Thomas on p. 52, for example, is a good answer to the people who like to sneer about " the ghost in the machine ". Or take his remarks (p. 51) on the difference between clergy and laity (" The Church is not like a Greek City, with the clerics for citizens, and layfolk for slaves. Nor are the followers of Christ divided into the amateurs and the professionals "); or his analysis (p. 64) of the relationship between parts and wholes, or his discussion (pp. 105 and 201) of the distinction between individuality and personality. All these are admirable in their clarity and precision. In places, however, Fr. Gilby becomes obscure, sometimes because of a kind of mysticism; and occasionally, too, in his zeal to convince his readers of the modernity of scholasticism, he is a shade too clever. He will not allow that St. Thomas can be stolid; " raffish ", he tells us, would be a more appropriate epithet.

On the flap of the dust-jacket the book is said to be " written for all those who are seriously concerned with the nature and future of human society ", but it may be doubted whether it will appeal to readers not already acquainted with and predisposed in favour of scholasticism and the scholastic technique. There are glints and flashes of illumination on many of these pages, but they do not alter the fact that Thomists speak a different language from that to which modern philosophers and theologians are accustomed, and that the problems of the thirteenth century, however ingeniously adapted, were not the same as those of to-day. Students of medieval thought will find here much to interest them, but the wider public for which the book was presumably intended may only be baffled by it.

J. W. Gough.

A MEMORABLE ENTERPRISE

The Story of the Woodard Schools. By K. E. Kirk, Bishop of Oxford. The Abbey Press, Abingdon. 6s.

The history of the foundation of the Woodard Schools is a neglected phase in educational progress. An achievement of significance in the social and educational changes of the Victorian era, it has never received the attention which was due. Many gifted *alumni* have looked back on their schooldays at one or another of the Woodard Schools with gratitude and pride, but seldom have their experiences been placed on record.

Nathaniel Woodard, who himself never enjoyed the advantage of a school education—he was one of twelve children—, founded his first school in a small room at New Shoreham, where he had recently received a curacy. But progress was rapid. He saw the need of schools for the middle classes—both professional and commercial—and he set himself with zeal and statesmanship to provide an education which would be religious while fitting boys for the careers which lay before them.

It is an arresting fact which must intrigue the thoughtful that this man who wanted any influence or resources other than his own insight and courage was able to bring into being a great foundation of boarding schools equipped with beautiful buildings which cover the country. Woodard was the leader, but there were others. All Saints School, Bloxham—not at first a Woodard School, but later incorporated in that foundation—was the creation of an impecunious Fellow of New College, P. R. Egerton, who held a curacy at Deddington. The contrast is striking between the originality and initiative of individualists in the 'sixties and what we see today.

The Bishop of Oxford's book, first published in 1937 and now revised, gives an admirable brief history of the movement, bringing out not only Woodard's remarkable gifts as originator and organizer, but also the principles which inspired the undertaking throughout. Woodard held that " the best is not too good for the children of the middle classes, however modest the circumstances of their parents may be ", and he insisted that the basis of education should be a sound training in the principles of the Church of England. We believe inquiry would show that the Woodard Schools have given the country a remarkable body of talented men who were also devoted Churchmen.

CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY

In the End, God—: A study of the Christian Doctrine of the Last Things. By J. A. T. Robinson. James Clarke, " Theology for the Modern Man " series. pp. 128. 6s. net.

A hundred years ago there was widespread interest in cosmogony: indeed to such an extent that theologians and scientists engaged in often bitter controversy. By and large, the scientists won; but perhaps the theologians benefited most, because they were forced to do a great deal of re-thinking not only about the Bible, particularly the Book of Genesis, but also about concepts of creation and causation. During the last two or three decades, theologians have turned their interest from the first things to the last—to eschatology. The appearance of Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* over forty years ago was among the initial steps; but it is generally agreed that subsequent theologians have found Schweitzer's picture of Jesus as the disillusioned eschatological mystic unacceptable. Estchatology is now much more vigorously presented as *the* relevant theological theme for our age, although, as Dr. Robinson points out in his Introduction, " one can virtually say that this century has seen no serious work in eschatology (immortality always excluded) from a doctrinal point of view, except from fundamentalist quarters (Roman, Protestant or heretical)". He mentions Dr. E. Lampert's *The Apocalypse of History* (1948) as an exception, and suggests that " on the Continent the theological recovery is much further advanced," as in the work of Althaus, Barth and Cullmann.

There is little doubt that the last things need much more attention. The layman is intensely interested, if not in the end of the world, certainly in his end and that of those near to him; and the theologian, on the other hand, if he is to command respect, cannot afford to be vague on such a subject, which is not only of contemporary interest but has also always had a prominent place in Christian theology. Dr. Robinson's little book is, therefore, specially welcome. It is vigorously written, and has a distinctly homiletic style, in the best sense. Here is no dry-as-dust juggling with texts or armchair discussion involving no personal committal. Yet this is not to say that the reader will not be critical of much that Dr. Robinson has to say.

The first three chapters set the problem of eschatology in the modern world. Dr. Robinson rightly agrees with Berdyaev and others that " we live in an apocalyptic age "; and he tellingly adds that this " one hears from people who do not believe in any apocalypse whatsoever ". Western thought since the Renascence has abandoned both the Hebraic and Greek view of the world—the one a faith in a God of history, the other in a God of nature—and has " put its trust in the universe as itself a *purposive process* ". As far as human individuals and human society are concerned, " the end of all this is a final disbelief in providence, either divine or secular; it is an attempt to *be* providence . . . it is a last catastrophic effort to stave off return from the discredited Baalim of nature to the God of history . . . Already out of the darkened skies the strange, familiar words of the New Testament have come again like thunder-claps to the churches of the persecution : ' The end of all things is at hand '." This is quite impressive; but one wonders how far it is rhetoric and how far a really acute diagnosis of the situation.

Dr. Robinson goes on to discuss the grounds of eschatological statement, and here allies himself with Dr. Richardson, who " is concerned to vindicate theology as an empirical discipline which uses a method at all points comparable with that of the other inductive sciences. Its data . . . are as objective and indisputable as those of physics and biology—namely the facts of 'Christian existence in history and to-day'." This apparently is an effort to align theology with the physical and biological sciences, and to disclaim the traditional deductive theology; but it is very doubtful whether this thesis will bear close examination. The data of religion, including Judaism and Christianity, are just not the same in kind as the data of the natural sciences. One suspects, however, that what these theologians are really doing is to try to bring theology out of discredit by regarding it as some kind of synthesis of empiricism and Barthianism. Nevertheless, this movement away from deductive theology, with its predominantly Greek ancestry, towards Hebrew thought, with its concrete mythology and imagery, is salutary in a scientific age impatient of idealism.

That God is the God of history is the great message of the Old Testament, which biblical exegetes of the last few generations have tended to forget. Hitherto it has been assumed that the Hebrew idea of time was that of a crude, savage folk; but, as Dr. Robinson points out, " it is necessary to probe deeper into the Hebraic understanding of time, and to try and discover what really was the fundamental thing which the Biblical writers sought to assert when they spoke so significantly of the *last* times and the *end* of the ages ". Behind the Hebrew myth, which in itself is but a particular symbolic idiom, lies permanent truth.

No discussion of eschatology can avoid a preliminary discussion of time. Dr. Robinson has a chapter on this subject, and sums up the distinction between time as an abstract, impersonal passing of moment after moment and time as a personal experience by reference to the Greek words *chronos* and *kairos*. This differentiation, popularised some years ago by Tillich and others, is important; for it is the latter with which the Christian is concerned. " The fundamental assertion made about time in the Bible is that it is God's time ". The interesting theory is then developed that *kairos* is prophetic time, whereas the apocalyptists tended to turn *kairos* into *chronos* by trying to predict precisely when God would act. Dr. Robinson maintains, that although the writers were often so obsessed by the idea of a temporal Parousia that they confused *kairos* (time for decision) with *chron* (duration), " there is not necessarily a simple correspondence between temporal and moral finality ". One is left, therefore, with something like a " transmuted eschatology ". The ultimate truth, at whatever stage in the mere time sequence, becoms final fact.

The next three chapters, " The End of the Times ", " The End o Man ", and " The Resurrection of the Body ", are admirable theological essays containing valuable expositions of the New Testament doctrine of the *eschata* and the differentiation between survival, immortality and resurrection. The preacher who aims at doctrinal teaching will find many illuminating ideas and quotations from other authors here. The following chapter, " The End of the Lord ", discusses critically the Calvinist and Thomist doctrines of final judgment and salvation. Dr. Robinson sides with the universalists, and does so poignantly. " Whether He had to condemn to extinction one or millions, God would have failed and failed infinitely. For love could not will such a thing ... Whether this failure is represented simply as the bounding of His omnipotence of love, or as a resort to a power of compulsion other that that of love, makes no difference. In either case a complete contradiction would be set up within the Divine being: God would simply cease to be God ".

In the last two short chapters the book tails off; but taken as a whole, it is an admirable and often inspiring essay on a theological subject of current significance. Dr. Robinson has done well to recall the intelligent Christian reader to a consideration of what Lampert rightly calls " the lastness of all things ".

D. W. GUNDRY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent review.

GENERAL

Thomas Carlyle. Letters to His Wife. Edited by Trudy Bliss. Gollancz.

This book is the first comprehensive publication of Carlyle's letters to his wife. (Seven hundred and forty-seven of them are preserved in the National Library of Scotland.) There is apparent today a great revival of interest in the man, whose influence on his contemporaries was immense, whose prophetic message is in essentials still moving and important.

Dante as a Political Thinker. By A. P. d'Entrèves. 119 p. Oxford. (1952).

This learned and interesting study deals with Dante's political thought by studying three main sources of inspiration: the City, the Empire and the Church. The issues which occupied the minds of statesmen in the hey-day of the Italian city-state are not irrelevant to-day.

The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793. Vol. I. *Discovery and Revolution.* By Vincent T. Harlow. 664 p. Longmans.

A major contribution to the study of British expansion as a maritime power after the formal recognition of American independence in 1783. The study of Shelburne's statesmanship is of especial value and importance.

Carlyle. An Anthology. By G. M. Trevelyan, O.M. 183 p. Longmans. 16s.

The author, himself an eminent historian, has collected a number of passages from Carlyle's works which serve to prove his outstanding literary power, and account for the acknowledged far-reaching effect of his thought on Ruskin, Morris, Maurice, Kingsley, Browning, Tennyson and many others. He claimed to be a moralist, but the emphasis now rests upon his poetic quality. Carlyle hated the type which he called "Dry-as-dust". Carlyle wrote the story of the French Revolution as a revelation, obscure but indubitable, of the ways of God to man. His method was analogous to the historical books of the Old Testament. Revelation was the primary purpose of history. "In the whirlwind also He speaks". With this strong concern about the cosmic significance of his theme, Carlyle selects, arranges, and interprets his material. And in the process he revealed a rare capacity for making facts come alive and assume imaginative significance.

This Anthology should be compared with Mr. John Holloway's essay on Carlyle in *The Victorian Sage*. It is refreshing to note this appreciation of a genius whose work not so long ago suffered disparagement at the hands of well-known critics.

Professional People. By Roy Lewis and Angus Maude. Phoenix House. 18s.

This book deals with topics often debated in conversation, but not so far made the subject of systematic study. Without question the socialisation of many fields of professional activity is causing great changes in the status and ideals of the educated classes. Many of these changes have already gone far without any considerable notice in written records. The nature of a profession and the ideals of the practitioner-client relationship form an important topic which is apt to be neglected by politicians. The authors have broken new ground. They allude to the clerical profession.

Achievement in Education: The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler, 1885-1935. By Lynda Grier. Intrdouction by Sir John Maud. Constable. 30s.

At a stage in educational history pregnant with immense possibilities we were fortunate in the leadership of an outstanding man whose qualities are ably described by Miss Grier. Sadler's life-long service was inspired by Christian convictions. *A review is deferred.*

Wordsworth and Coleridge, 1795-1834. Home University Library: 223. By H. M. Margoliouth (Senior Research Fellow, Oriel College). 208 pp., with Index. Oxford University Press. 6s.

The author deals with an historic conjunction of creative gifts, "the goodliest fellowship of famous poets which our literature has known". The Lake Poets, who might have been (with more abundant fruit) the Quantock Poets. Mr. Margoliouth understands his subject, and every student of English poetry will need this modest volume. *A review is deferred to a later issue.*

Society and Sanity. By F. J. Sheed. 225 pp. Sheed and Ward. 10s. 6d.

"In every field the test of sanity is *what is*"—the realities. In social relations the crucial question is the nature of man. "But", says the author with truth, "in the whole of our social life man is overlooked". Mr. Sheed is an able exponent of this basic Christian proposition, that in all our social thinking it is a necessary condition to know that God made Man in his own image.

Geographical History in Greek Lands. By John L. Myres. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 371 p. 35s.

A work of absorbing interest.

Bridge to Islam. By Enrich W. Bethmann. 204 p. Allen & Unwin. 15s.

The great opponent of Christianity is not, as commonly supposed, Communism, but Islam; although Mohammed venerated Christ and accepted His supernatural birth. Islam reigns in half of the African Continent and in a substantial part of Asia. Muslims are sincere in their faith. Insufficient attention is given by our preachers and statesmen to an urgent issue which ought to be familiar to an imperial nation.

Robert Browning. A Portrait. By Betty Miller. John Murray 21s.

An arresting study which is likely to become a permanent addition to the works on Browning. A wealth of knowledge is presented with skill and grace.

The Victorian Sage: Studies in Argument. By John Holloway Macmillan. 18s.

Offered here is a study of six prophetic writers: Carlyle, Newman, Matthew Arnold, Disraeli, George Eliot and Thomas Hardy. While not failing in recognition of the message of each writer, Mr. Holloway is especially occupied with the characteristic methods in argument and rhetoric employed. A detailed examination, penetrating and original, throws a new light on the thought and style of each chosen subject. Nothing similar has been seen.

An Introduction to the Administrative History of Mediaeval England. By S. B. Chrimes. 277 pp. Blackwell, Oxford. 27s. 6d.

This readable work ably meets a current need for a broad survey of Administrative History, without which it is difficult to understand history in general. From the first executive power was vested in the Crown and its servants.

A History of the Crusades. Vol. ii. The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankist East, 110-1187. By Steven Runciman. Cambridge University Press. 42s.

The second volume of this valuable work describes the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Second Crusade.

Heroic Poetry. By C. M. Bowra. Macmillan. 40s.

A study of the essential characteristics of Heroic poetry was long overdue though seldom to such a task could be brought gifts which Sir Maurice Bowra can deploy. He shows that heroic poetry is sustained by certain common principles which operate in different ages and environments. A learned treatise, of interest not only to the Homeric scholar but to the student of cultures and societies.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate. By A. Sillery. Oxford University Press. 30s.

A balanced and accurate account of an African protectorate by an experienced administrator is always valuable. Little is known about this remarkable country before the advent of the London

Missionary Society with Robert Moffat, father-in-law of David Livingstone, who also went to Bechuanaland in his early days. Later it was another missionary, John Mackenzie, who took an influential part in the negotiations which brought it under the British Crown.

THEOLOGICAL

The Spirit of Love. Based on the Teaching of St. Francois de Sales. By C. F. Kelley. Longmans. 21s.

In an introductory preface Jaques Maritain remarks that Salesian spirituality will reveal many men of our times to themselves. For de Sales teaches the highest doctrine of love and he teaches it for all. Not a great theologian, he was a master of the spiritual life and a perfect writer. This book by a layman deeply immersed in the teaching of his master, provides a valuable study supported by numerous quotations from the works of de Sales.

Lent with St. Bernard. A Devotional Commentary on Psalm Ninety-one. Translated and Edited by a Religious of C.S.M.V. 79 pp. Mowbray. 9s. 6d.

St. Bernard, who died 800 years ago, chose this psalm as the subject of a course of Lenten sermons. The present work provides a selection from those sermons done into English.

The Courage to Be. By Paul Tillich. 185 pp. Nisbet. 21s.

Prof. Tillich has published in substance the lectures delivered at Yale under the Foundation established by Dwight H. Terry. He chose as his theme a concept which is in everyone's mind to-day, the concept of courage, in which many problems of theology, sociology and philosophy converge.

The Image of God in Man. By David Cairns. S.C.M. Press. 18s.

The Christian doctrine of man is the theme of this book which traces the subject through the Old and New Testaments, and in the teaching of the Fathers. Chapters follow on Aquinas, and on the great reformation leaders. An important section contains an examination of Marx and Freud.

The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. By C. H. Dodd. Cambridge University Press. 42s.

This magnificent treatise is likely to become a classic in New Testament scholarship by its great learning and judgement. None who wish to pursue a deeper knowledge of the gospel can dispense with it. And those also who are not specialists will do well to read it.

A full review is deferred until July.

Jesus Master and Lord. A Study in the Historical Truth of th
Gospels. By H. E. W. Turner. 377 pp. Mowbrays. 21s.

An important study of the life, person and teaching of our Lor by a scholar firmly convinced of the historical credibility of the gospe sources.

A review is deferred to a later number.

The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage. By Jan van Ruysbroe Translated by C. A. Wynschenck Dom, edited with an introduction by Evelyn Underhill. J. M. Watkins. 12s. 6d.

A translation of the great philosophical mystic which has stoo the test of time. *c.f. No.* 310 *of this journal, page* 142.

The Cloud of Unknowing. Edited with an introduction by Evely Underhill. J. M. Watkins. 7s. 6d.

The Further Journey. By Rosalind Murray. Harvill Pres 12s. 6d.

"If I were to sum up in one word the most essential thing whic membership of the Church has meant for me, I should say it was life that I see it more and more, as I go on, in terms of being and livin rather than simply in terms of goodness and happiness". This distinction between humanist values and the Christian objective is a major theme in this book. Once again Miss Murray is occupied with the "Good Pagan" and the real implications of conversion—with "the transformation in outlook involved in the acceptance of the rol of supernatural grace in human affairs". Her insight and lucidity give her writing a special merit as apologetic suited for the general reader.

A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. From the Restoration to the Present Time. By F. Goldie: Lecturer at the Scottish Episcopal Theological College, Edinburgh. Foreword by the Primus. 168 pp. S.P.C.K. 14s. 6d.

It is in England that this excellent study of the Episcopal Church in Scotland is likely to find many readers. The subject is seldom discussed. The author is not only a scholar but an able parish pries who has experience of the important Hillington Industrial Estate, an as Rector of St. Augustine's, Dumbarton.

That Man Paul. By Edward Carpenter. (The Bishop of London's Lent Book). Longmans. 3s.

As the Bishop of London observes in a Foreword, St. Paul is "one of the finest spiritual guides of all times." The author has written a admirable little book for the general reader.

Scientism, Man and Religion. By D. R. G. Owen. 208 pp. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. $3.50.

The author, a former pupil of Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich, is now Associate Professor of Ethics and Philosophy at Trinity College, Toronto. As a lecturer he has learnt to understand the diffi culties arising from scientific views established in the minds of many students. He has written a valuable survey of those modern movements which militate against a proper appreciation of the Christian faith.

The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels. By the late Wilfred L. Knox. Edited by H. Chadwick. Vol. I. St. Mark. 162 pp. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

This learned work by the late Canon Wilfred Knox " is an attempt to deal with the Synoptic Gospels not as collections of anecdotes but as compilations of sources underlying Mark and the hypothetical Q, and also the matter peculiar to Luke and Matthew." The author died on February 9, 1950, leaving his work uncompleted. The first volume, however, has already been accepted by the University Press. Mr. Chadwick has undertaken the difficult task of revision.

The Meaning of Existence. A Metaphysical Inquiry. By Dom Mark Pontifex and Dom Illtyd Trethowan. 170 pp. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

An analysis of the word " existence " leads to an understanding of the basis of natural theology, and the proofs of God's existence. *A review is deferred to a later number.*

God and the Unconscious. By Victor White, O.P. Foreword by C. G. Jung. 277 pp. The Harvill Press. 21s.

This work endeavours to integrate the psychology of Jung with Christian teaching.

Why I am not a Roman Catholic. By Kenneth N. Ross, Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, W.1. 126 pp. Mowbrays. 7s. 6d.

"*Fidelia vulnera amantis*: it is in no belligerent spirit that I criticise the Church of Rome," writes Mr. Ross. He writes very well, and it is only reasonable that competent scholarship should find an opportunity of discussing the difficulties which many Anglicans feel about the Papal claims. " I cannot write as though I believed that no honest man could believe otherwise than I do." Such words illustrate the fair and temperate mood of a work which will be read by many, including, we suppose, some Roman Catholics.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

Scottish Journal of Theology. Vol. 6, No. 1. 112 pp. Oliver and Boyd. 4s. 6d.

Included are an important article by Prof. Matthew Black on *Servant of the Lord and Son of Man* which draws attention to a new light on this topic; and *The Millennial Hope in the Early Church* by Dr. Hans Bietenhard. Prof. Torrance (joint Editor) writes on *Where Do we go From Lund?*

Among books reviewed is Principal R. R. Williams' valuable *Authority in the Apostolic Age* (1950).

The British Journal of the Philosophy of Science. Vol. III, No. 12. Thomas Nelson. 7s. 6d.

Included is an able and entertaining article by Bertrand Russell on *The Cult of Common Usage* which contains an effective criticism of " the most influential school of philosophy in Britain at the present day," which teaches (erroneously, in the writer's opinion) that the language of daily life, with words used in their ordinary meanings, suffices for philosophy, which has no need of technical terms. Also of special interest to the general reader is *Dualism and Language* by Lan Freed.

The Expository Times. February, 1953. Clark: Edinburgh. 1s. 6d.

An article on *Science and Religion* by A. W. Sloan provides a useful summary of some basic scientific concepts which paves the way to a reconciliation with the religious viewpoint.

The Expository Times. March, 1953. Clark: Edinburgh. 1s. 6d.

An editorial article refers to the topic of the Second Advent as considered in recent books by leading theologians. Professor Leonard Hodgson's *Doctrine of the Trinity* is the subject of a substantial article by the Rev. Dennis Nineham, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Philosophy. January, 1953. Edited by Sydney E. Hooper. Macmillan. 21s. yearly, post free.

This number has a sound vindication of metaphysics, *The Function of Metaphysics* by F. C. Copleston, S.J. A report of an address on psychical research and philosophy delivered by Dr. B. L. Atreya to the Psychology section of the India Philosophical Congress at Poona in 1951 is valuable. It comes from C. T. K. Chari of Madras Christian College, S. India.

Among some important reviews should be mentioned an edition for English readers of Lu Chi's *Wen Fu*, a landmark in Chinese literature dated A.D. 302. The translator and editor is E. R. Hughes. The book is published by Pantheon Books, New York.

La Nouvelle Revue Théologique. January, 1953. Casterman, Tournai. 30s. yearly.

Attention is drawn to *La Situation en Chine: un Document Significatif.* This communication was addressed to the head of an Indian delegation visiting China by a group of Catholics. It contains a distressing account of Roman Catholics held in prison by the Chinese Government.

The Christian East. Vol. II (New Series), Nos. 3 and 4. Edited by Austin Oakley. The Faith Press. 10s. yearly.

Prof. L. A. Zander's *Vision and Action: the Problems of Ecumenism* is the subject of a very critical review by Fr George Flororsky. A reply by Prof. Zander is promised. An article by G. Kitson Clark discusses the religious situation in Yugoslavia with particular reference to the Archbishop of Canterbury's statement on the subject made in an address on December 10, 1952, delivered in London at the Council of Christians and Jews.

Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

A VITAL NEED

THERE are topics in this number of the Quarterly of such grave urgency that it would be frivolous to digress into other fields. Subjects accepted for discussion are given priority deliberately, just as in secular policy, in a time of danger, certain kinds of work are given priority. Here, however, a task of greater magnitude than any temporal conflict regulates our strategy; for we are engaged in another war—with opponent forces which are subtle and elusive. And the issues at stake are such that it is difficult to view the greater attention generally paid to the more transitory issues of temporal life without impatience.

The temper of the age is indifferent to the deeper issues; and active concern about the real situation is limited to a very small number. While the great changes in transport and communication are bringing within the range of Western heresies and errors those races which had long been fortunate in their relative seclusion. Indeed the whole world is today rapidly drifting into secularism.

Such is the situation, briefly told, which faces Christianity and it must be viewed with the greatest concern by clergy and laity. All other issues sink into insignificance beside the strength of secularism.

Bearing these facts in mind we cannot over-estimate the theme of Dr. Leonard Hodgson's article on the training of the clergy. With his wide experience of ecclesiastical problems as well as his special insight as Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford he is in a position to judge and advise.

In his article he is occupied with the needs of those clergy whose ministry is mainly evangelistic or pastoral. What work is required of them and what qualifications are necessary for that work? They cannot fail, holding such an office, to be in need of certain equipment.

Dr. Hodgson clearly defines obligations which fall to every priest. First, he will render himself "able to tell the difference between true and false expressions of Christian doctrine." He will *know* the Faith and be prepared to interpret it in the language of his hearers. Secondly, he should be so grounded in Theology that he can keep himself informed about current progress. He should be "able to understand what the theologians are doing, to make use of the published fruits of their researches," both for his own good and for the benefit of those whom he may have to instruct.

These are not things which every man will find easy, but every man is not called to take Orders. Laymen who look to the clergy for instruction and for an example assume such qualifications.

In the long history of this country many parish priests enjoyed a life of study and reflection while faithfully attending to the more practical duties which pertain to their office. And there are still, even in these difficult days, a number of clergy whose preaching immediately betrays an up-to-date equipment in those studies which are necessary to any man who is called in a critical and wayward society to defend the truth. But we would that such gifts were more common. The demands upon the priest in a modern community are varied, but nothing, surely, can safely be allowed to oust the major duty of intellectual guidance. In an age when unbelief has so many and clamant advocates it is very dangerous for the Church to neglect this charge. Unbelief is latent everywhere in books and journals. It is given open expression by some authors who wish to controvert the Christian claims. And it is even more commonly disseminated by writers and journalists who, without any considered intention to attack religion, do greater mischief through their ignorance of what Christianity really means. They do not know the Faith. Vigilance and preparedness should be a major duty in the presence of an enemy, always actively employing the most subtle methods to deceive the public.

In a country such as ours where, unfortunately, many professing Christians are irregular participants in the services of the Church it is often assumed that at rectories and vicarages theological competence would be available if required. The man of affairs, busily occupied with his secular work, always supposes that the clergy—all of whom are addressing congregations from the pulpit—will be at least as well qualified in the knowledge of their subject as any other professional man holding a position of some prominence is usually found to be. It does not appear, however, that such confidence is always well-founded. In the great urban parishes which cannot fail to include a considerable number of earnest thinkers it ought to be the primary task of clergy and laity to bring such persons into the Church. It cannot be said with certainty that this is happening. We are assured by correspondents that the Church is not making an appropriate impact upon educated opinion, and the general indifference to current achievement in Christian apologetic seems to be indicated by the difficulty, in Anglican circles, at least, of maintaining a representative organ of scholarly discussion on a paying basis. There is a wide gulf between the small company of devout scholars and philosophers who are laboriously repairing the citadel of Christian truth and those other elements in society which are energetically concerned with the advancement of secular knowledge and enlightenment. Little is being done to resolve a disunion which for those whose lot has brought it much to their notice is a cause of deep anxiety. Those who are busily occupied with ecclesiastical interests in one form or another are apt to shut their eyes to the real position.

It is sometimes said that ordinary opinion lags far behind enlightened knowledge, although none the less progressing slowly. We see this very clearly in popular thought about historical and sociological issues, and the same tendency may be observed in architecture and the arts. The public to-day, it is argued, still reflects in religion the opinions derived half-a-century ago from the prevailing empiricism and doubt which then had prominent advocates. This seems to be true in spite of a reawakened desire for religion of a not very definite expression.

In the face of an unresponsive public, the learned world—as every reader of this journal knows—has seen a veritable renascence in the major fields of theological study. We have only to turn to the review pages of this and other numbers of the Quarterly to remind ourselves of the great progress which has been made both in the study of the New Testament and in the investigation of the philosophical issues of the Christian revelation. We witness the dawn of a new day. *Paulo majora canamus . . . Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.*

It is intolerable that knowledge, so stimulating and so precious, should be withheld from the general public of this nation. It is intolerable that, in a society which has accorded to certain non-Christian works of philosophy and religion the popularity of best-sellers, scarcely anything comparable is being written under Christian auspices. And yet the Church through its preaching in town and village, and through its well-organised medium of radio broadcasts, has unequalled opportunities of gaining an audience. To bridge the gulf between scholar and public which we have discussed will necessitate many changes. But the reform which demands priority is a better training of the priesthood.

"The overthrow of the wisdom of the world was one of the earliest, as well as the noblest triumphs of the Church" wrote Newman who reminded us that our Lord took his place among the doctors before he preached his new kingdom.

THE QUEEN

"In serving earthly Kingship we serve His". The prayer of the Poet Laureate in *The Times* of the Second of June fitly expressed the feeling of the whole Commonwealth. And Christians of every communion have recognised the spirit of dedication with which the Queen has begun her momentous reign.

Not a few have been quick to perceive the far-reaching consequence of this fact. In the coronation ceremony at Westminster is recalled in a resounding way the Christian character of the constitution—that principle which has always obliged our statesmen to weigh their policies *sub specie aeternitatis.*

This Christian foundation of the Monarchy has by critics often been overlooked, but the consecration at Westminster with its immemorial symbolism has reaffirmed a fact of inestimable importance. Nations have learnt in a manner new to them this signal truth proclaimed by the common consent of a whole great community that we have at heart no belief in common with those secular creeds which deny God.

The service in Westminster Abbey shows where the heart of the British people lies. As *The Tablet*—the leading Roman Catholic journal—observed in a very thoughtful article the ritual of the service was "enacted in 1953 with a thoroughness and general acclaim that would have greatly surprised the self-confident rationalists of 1853, could they have foreseen what the future would really be." The point is one to be pondered. In an age of undisguised indifference to eschatology, when religious principles are so little honoured in practice, the inarticulate will of the masses remains faithful to its Christian Creed and Sacraments.

Convocation of Canterbury

SUMMARY OF THE MAY GROUP OF SESSIONS

A GOOD deal of the time of the Convocation of Canterbury at its Sessions in May was occupied with the discussion of Canons. The two Houses dealt with Canons I to VIII, X, XCV and the redrafted Marriage Canons for the first time, and also discussed outstanding points in other Canons already considered. In addition the Lower House considered for the first time Canons XCVI—CVII, and the Upper House, Canons CVIII—CX, concerning Church Furnishings. Details of the final results of this consideration can be found in the article on Canon Law Revision, included in the present issue.

After the Presidential Address by the Archbishop, in which he referred to the forthcoming Coronation and to the next stages of Canon Law Revision, both Houses of Canterbury considered a report from the Joint Committee on the Amended Lectionary. This report was very short, but raised fundamental issues. It pointed out the confusion caused in the Church of England by the existence of no less than four authorized Lectionaries containing many alternatives within them, and asked the Convocations to decide whether they wished the Committee to draw up two Lectionaries, one embodying the principle of continuity and the other made relevant to the Seasons of the Church's Year and to special occasions, for submission to Convocation with a view to their ultimate authorization as the only two permissible Lectionaries. The Lower House considered this question first and was strongly in agreement with the desire of the Committee to end the present state of confusion. Ultimately the House decided to ask the Committee to draw up either one or two Lectionaries on these lines, leaving it to the Committee to decide whether the desire for a single Lectionary, wide enough to meet all these needs, was too utopian to be attainable. This Resolution was subsequently accepted by the Upper House and both Houses agreed to the appointment of an enlarged committee to carry out the task.

A second matter introduced in Full Synod, and subsequently considered by the Upper House, was the Report entitled, "The

Church of England and the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland," which summarises the discussions which took place in 1951 between representatives of these Scandinavian Churches and a Church of England Committee appointed by the Archbishops. Certain proposals were made by this Committee, and as a result the following motions were passed by the Upper House:

(i) That the Report be commended to the sympathetic attention and careful study of the Church.

(ii) That baptized and communicant members of the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland, when in England and cut off from the ministrations of their Churches, are to be welcomed to receive Holy Communion in the Church of England.

(iii) That the Archbishop of Canterbury be asked to secure a continuation of the discussions between these Churches.

The form of the second of these Resolutions was slightly altered from that suggested by the Committee, in order to bring it into accord with similar Resolutions concerning other non-Anglican Churches. The Lower House decided to postpone discussion of these Resolutions until the next Group of Sessions, in view of the important doctrinal questions raised by the Report. This is the fourth of a series of four Reports dealing with relations between the Church of England and other Churches which have been considered by the Convocations within the last two years. Another of these Reports was discussed by the Lower House at this Group of Sessions. This was the Report entitled, "Church Relations in England," arising out of conversations between representatives of the Archbishops and of the Free Churches, which the Upper House had discussed last October and concerning which it had passed three Resolutions. The first of these was "That the Report be received and commended for consideration", but the Lower House was doubtful to whom it was to be commended and therefore amended the Resolution to read, "That the Report be received for consideration". The second Resolution asked the Archbishop to appoint a Joint Committee of both Houses to study and report on the implications of the Report, in consultation with the Convocation of York. This was accepted by the Lower House. The third Resolution passed by the Upper House suggested that consideration be given to the possibility of opening conversations along the lines suggested in the Report with individual Free Churches, with special regard to the Methodist Church; but the Lower House felt that it was unwise to restrict the freedom of the proposed Joint Committee by passing this third Resolution at this stage, and therefore rejected it.

In the Upper House the Bishop of Peterborough moved a Resolution "That this House hopes that the Ten Commandments may be frequently heard in Church and be included in courses of religious instruction given in schools". The Upper House agreed with this, but the Lower House was dubious about it and considered that in any case it was undesirable to combine in one Resolution the question of the reading of the Commandments in Church and the different question of the inclusion of them in courses of religious instruction in schools; and on this ground it rejected the Resolution, while not wishing to display any disrespect towards the Ten Commandments themselves!

Another motion was moved in the Upper House by the Bishop of Chichester, dealing with the Church and the Race question. With one verbal modification this was passed by both Houses. It expressed apprehension at the increasing tension between men of different races in certain parts of the British Commonwealth, profound concern for the maintenance of human rights, and sympathy with those labouring for a Christian solution of the racial and personal problems involved, particularly in the Union of South Africa; and it reiterated the agreement of the Convocation with Resolution 43 of the Lambeth Conference of 1948.

Finally, a Gravamen was presented by the Dean of Winchester and a number of other signatories in the Lower House, expressing apprehension at a Bill to be introduced into Parliament in connection with the Chapel of Unity in Coventry Cathedral. The Gravamen was not in any sense a criticism of the Coventry Cathedral scheme, but simply of the legal methods adopted to initiate the scheme. The Archbishop was able to assure the signatories of the Gravamen that he was himself equally perturbed about this matter, and had secured the removal from the proposed Bill of all those sections which could more properly be enacted by Measure of the Church Assembly or by an alteration of the Trust Deeds.

A. F. SMETHURST.

BONIFACE

Founder of Spiritual Unity in the West*

By K. D. SCHMIDT

WE are all of us at the present time oppressed by a concern for the survival of the West, sensing that on its continued existence depends in many ways the well-being, perhaps indeed even the salvation, of the world. In consequence, questions concerning the origins of Western civilisation come up for fresh consideration, and the men who laid its foundations appear in a different light.

Three men played a leading part in its creation: Clovis, king of the Franks, who as a result of his own conversion and adherence to Christianity in its Catholic form brought about a union, on the basis of creed, between those who were to be the leading people of the future and the inhabitants of the old Roman Empire; Charlemagne, who was the first to achieve the fundamental unity of the West; and, standing between the two statesmen, Boniface, who in more respects than one laid the foundation of the spiritual unity of the West.

What we shall attempt here is to trace the underlying ideas of this historic achievement of his. [1]

Winfried, which, as is well known, was Boniface's original name, was the son of a family of the Saxon nobility in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of West Saxony (Wessex). Both the place and the year of his birth are unknown; 672 or 673 are the dates most worth considering. The age into which he was born, thirty years after the formal Christianisation of the country, was one in which the actual experience of living within the Christian faith was deepening. Of this there are many evidences. The Anglo-Saxons by this time really wanted to be Christians. One is almost tempted to speak of it in terms of "falling in love". At that period, however, and in those parts of the world, the strict form of the Christian life which men had a mind to pursue bore upon it the stamp of monasticism. Men devoted themselves to ascetism with all possible earnestness as being in the literal sense the *militia Christi*. But the highest degree of monastic ascetism at the time was to be found in the *peregrinari propter Christum*, the choice for Christ's sake of life in remote parts, of '*alilanti*', for which the German word " Elend " is an exact equivalent. This conception had been derived from the Irish, who had played an important part in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. Thus, for example, the most celebrated monastic saint of the West Saxons, Aldhelm of Malmesbury, maintained direct and close fraternal relations with these people. Amongst the Anglo-Saxons, however, the idea of an ascetic, itinerant life for Christ's sake was already clearly linked with the idea of missions.

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* An Inaugural Lecture delivered at the Opening of the Kirkliche Hochschule in Hamburg, 4th May, 1949. We are indebted to the Rev. Christopher F. Evans for translating this lecture into English.

Love of the *militia Christi*, of enlistment in the service of Christ as leader, now took hold of the young Winfried. Despite persistent opposition from his parents he continued to give credence to the priests when they extolled the ascetic as the perfect life, and in the end he obtained his father's consent to be allowed to embrace it. In the monastery he soon won for himself a position of far-reaching consequence; his activities went so far as to procure him the friendship of kings and of the Primate of England himself, a point to which we shall return in another connection. But Boniface himself, perhaps as the result of a vision seen in a dream, was now seized with a zeal for missionary work which bade him renounce all the great prospects which may have been calling him in his own country. For the first time in 716, and finally in 718, he departed with a few companions as a missionary abroad. It was there that his real life's work was to develop.

It is abundantly clear that the man who left to be a missionary in 718 was not an unknown figure, nor a man who is as yet uncertain of what he is about, and who allows himself to be carried along by the stream, snatching perforce at any favour which chance may offer, but a mature man in his forties, one who was in the front rank of the culture of his day and an experienced and responsible man of affairs; a man, nevertheless, for whom there was only one thing now that was great, to follow Christ and to serve Christ in the way that he and his age understood it. In this cause, and until over eighty years of age, he underwent all the hardships and privations which residence in a foreign country and the business of extensive travel inevitably entailed at the time. In the case of

Boniface this zeal for expending himself in the service of Christ appears to have been intensified by three factors. In the first place, by the thought of his own death. According to a letter which he wrote to certain women in England with whom he stood in particularly close relations, and who were later to be at his right hand to assist him in Germany, he was possessed by a very horror of coming before the throne of God empty-handed, " utterly barren, without any increment for the Gospel, and with no sons or daughters in attendance " as he expressed it no more than ten years before his death (ep. 67). This is also readily understandable when we remember the very prominent place occupied by " works " and reward in the contemporary notion of Christianity. The way to salvation lies open only in the following of Christ, who has gained access for men to the Kingdom of God, but the call to discipleship comes to men as a summons to achievement. There is an unmistakable trace of legalism here, and it is impossible to eliminate from it the thought of reward. The following words written to Boniface by Bishop Torthelm of Leicester are only a particularly clear cut example of what was a general tendency: " we have received your Lordship's long desired letter, and have learnt therefrom what pious devotion and what ardent love thou dost manifest, so as, protected by the right hand of the Lord, to meditate day and night upon the conversion of the hearts of the heathen Saxons to the catholic and apostolic faith unto the salvation of thine own soul " (ep. 47). There is an undeniable weakness in this which was not without its consequences in practice, for the alliance, as in Boniface, of a legalistic conception of Christianity in which the grace of God is bound up with human effort and achievement, with the seriousness which goes with a sensitive and sincere conscience, necessarily gives rise to a scrupulosity which is fatal to the " freedom of the Christian man ". So long, of course, as the way lies along accustomed paths this does not make itself apparent; a life in which everything is comprised within fixed rules does not foster uncertainty. For Boniface, who was a monk, it was the monastic rule which governs everything, and what it does not provide for is settled by the abbot's ruling. Life is thus straightforward. But once a man is forced to tread fresh paths, he is then very likely to lose his sense of security and energy; zest for work, even learning, are no longer much help to him. Admittedly an Anglo-Saxon Christian at the time was not without resource in such a situation. He possessed in the Pope on who could give an authoritative decision in cases where he himsel was still uncertain. The pettiness of the subjects, which Bonifac referred to the Pope, extending even to matters of food and drink, has often been remarked; the old man even has to ask permissio from the Pope to spend a few days recreation at Fulda (ep. 86. Even a Catholic scholar, Lortz, has recently described this as "sub-mission in a somewhat feeble sense of the word" and as "lack o independence"—which in fact it is. But it becomes somethin more than merely a cause for astonishment when it is see in relation to the background which we have sketched. From this standpoint it is not only intelligible, it is well-nigh inevitable. Precisely because Boniface was aware of the absolute seriousnes of the demands of God and strove passionately to fulfil His will, such an attitude was bound to ensue once the belief becam predominant that "works" alone opened the gates of heaven. Fo as a man Boniface was not exactly narrow-minded, as is shown, for example, by the gift of two casks of wine which he once made to Archbishop Egbert of York with the request that he use them to make merry with the brethren in token of the love that existed between them both (ep. 91).

This tendency towards a doctrine of works was, however, kept within the framework of Christian faith to the extent that Boniface was well aware that success was only promised where human effort had God's blessing bestowed upon it. Hence all success was ascribed to God, all failure likewise to men's own sins (ep. 65). This is, in fact, a particularly clear expression of the peculiar tension inherent in the Catholic principle of *cooperatio hominis cum Deo;* human effort stands alongside divine blessing, grace stands alongside reward. It also explains why friends could write to him from home that his share in the glory of heaven would correspond to the number of the heathen he had converted.

Secondly, besides the idea of reward, he was plainly influenced by an eschatological outlook. Boniface believed that the last day was near. This belief must equally have spurred him on to if possible an even greater expenditure of all his powers in God's vineyard. What was at stake was to bring the German brethren to salvation even at the last hour. This eschatological outlook sprang up afresh in Rome in the period of the break-up of the Roman

Empire. Whether it was transmitted to England by Gregory the Great, who was clearly under its spell, or whether Boniface met it n Rome itself—Pope Gregory II voiced it equally clearly—must emain an open question. It is sufficient to be able to detect it as a factor operative with Boniface.

Thirdly, there must be added a touching love for his blood relations on the continent who were still ignorant of Christ, which not only impelled him to missionary activity, but also intimated its scope. His letters are full of echoes of a true patriotism. So he writes to a priest named Herefrith " the merits and fame of our people excite in us joy and pleasure, their errors and the blame which they incur fill us with sorrow and distress ". Even in old age he still professes of the continental Saxons " De uno sanguine et de uno osse sumus ". It was only to the people of Germany that he considered himself sent; for the Slavs, the *foedissimum et deterrimum genus hominum,* he cares nothing. He even has to ask the Pope first whether he ought to take tithes from them at all. To such an extent was racial pride already working its havoc in this period.

In Boniface, then, we find united the desire of the monk for self-mmolation, a vivid sense that time was running out and the last hour approaching, and also a warm-hearted affection for his heathen brethren. This accounts for the fact that his missionary zeal remained unimpaired into old age, and that even the sufferings which he had to bear as an old man could not damp his ardour. "*Veritas fatigari potest, vinci et falli non potest*". These words should be written in large letters over an age such as our own which has grown weary and sceptical. The missionary work of Catholic Christianity ould not be animated by more sincere motives than it is here. Pro-estants might have theological scruples over one or other of these motives, but it would be foolish to judge a man living eight hundred ears before the Reformation by reference to insights which were granted Luther. Like the rest of us Boniface shared the limitations in which his own age was involved.

His motives for missionary work governed its method. Of his there are several accounts,[2] but it ought not to be forgotten hat the determining factor in Boniface's work was his genuine Christian piety. A nice example of his faith is afforded by the letter o his old friend Bishop Daniel of Winchester mourning the death of one of the bishop's relatives (ep. 63). He refers him to the biblical text " whom the Lord loves he chastens "; he is sure that Daniel possesses eyes which " see God and His angels and the glorious joys of the heavenly Jerusalem "; so he is sure that God has sent him this sorrow to induce him to turn his eyes with ever greater stedfastness from earth to heaven. That is the attitude proper to a Christian, to refuse to doubt God's love even in sorrow and on no account to ask why, but only to what purpose, God puts him to school in this way.

It is only the man who takes everything that befalls him as coming from the hand of God who is also really able to pray, and it is impossible to disregard the fact that in his work Boniface was a fervent man of prayer. He himself lived on prayer, experiencing at the same time the power of intercession. Numbers of his letters, especially those written back to his homeland, had no other reason for their writing than to ask for the recipient's intercessions, and in hardly any letter is such a request absent. All this reveals him as a real and genuine person, who must have radiated an unusual power of attraction. Wherever he went men resolved to give up their homes and previous occupations, and to follow him into the unknown. And not only Anglo-Saxons. Gregory the Frank and Sturmi the Bavarian are shining examples from other races. Even when preparing for the journey which he knew would end in his death, he was still concerning himself with the welfare of his companions in the distant future.

This warmth and personal affection, which shine also through his letters, will further have determined the methods to be employed in his missionary work. His refusal to use compulsion stands out in pleasing contrast to Charlemagne's ruthlessness in Saxony and to the crusade sermon against the Slavs preached by Bernard of Clairvaux, a man whose passionate love for Christ enabled him to write the hymn "*Salve caput cruentatum*" but who, nevertheless, could define the object of the crusade as the annihilation of the Wends—or else of their religion. Boniface on the other hand rebuked his companions for their use of arms even at the moment when he was fallen upon by the heathen Frisians at Dokkum. This certainly appears to be contradicted by his procedure against the Oak of Thor at Geismar, but the contradiction is in appearance only, for however much our sensibilities may be shocked by his action, it constituted no compulsion to conversion. The danger was rather Boniface's own when he laid hands on the heathen temple, and tender as his conscience may have been, he did not lack personal courage. Nor was the action ill-advised from the point of view of missionary tactics; it is a prerequisite of any success in the mission field even to-day that the heathen shall lose his faith in the pagan power in which he has hitherto placed his confidence.

For all the good that can be said about his motives and methods Boniface's success as a missionary ought not to be overestimated. Southern Germany was Christian by the time that he came to the continent, and the conversion of Middle Germany was already in principle an accomplished fact. In Thuringia and Hessen it was only gleanings which remained to be harvested, though they were admittedly considerable, and it was he who brought them in. As a missionary in the full sense he worked farther afield among the Frisians, here also apparently with considerable success. It is not surprising that when the only available sources were literary he should have been called the apostle of Germany; in the light of the abundant information yielded by non-literary sources about Christianity in Germany before Boniface it is clear that such a title claims too much.

But even if he was not the person who converted Germany to Christianity, it was certainly he who organised the German Church; and this was all-important if the Christian faith was to flourish and persist. Before Boniface missionary work had been undertaken in Germany by Arian East Germans, by Franks and Irish, and in South Germany by remnants of the Romano-Celtic population. Traces of these different groups are to be seen to this day in German ecclesiastical terminology,[3] and modern historical research has as one of its tasks to determine the relative influence of missionary factors at any one time upon particular races or regions. But in 720, outside the territory of the old Roman Empire, no ecclesiastical organisation had ever been built up. The functions of the episcopate were undertaken by itinerant bishops without any fixed see; Boniface was one himself for many years. The period covered by his life meant a fundamental change in this province, for by the time of his death the whole of South and Middle Germany was covered by a strong network of dioceses with monasteries to complete them. It only remained to develop the system of metropolitans, which Boniface also attempted to construct, though he met with no success in face of the strong opposition which it engendered, Charlemagne being the first who was strong enough to supply this deficiency.

The essential preliminary conditions for the organisational side of his work he also brought with him from his homeland. He came of a noble family, and to belong to the nobility at that time meant to be born to rule. As a boy he must, almost as a matter of course, have grown up to the difficult art of ruling, and his gift for it must have attracted the notice of others, for even before 712 a synod of King Ine of Wessex sent him as emissary to the Primate of England, Archbishop Berchtwald of Canterbury. The mission was a success, not only for the matter in hand but for him personally. From then on, according to Willibald, Winfried, though only a presbyter at the time, was drawn frequently into synods. His own monastery elected him its abbot, an office which he declined as he was already firmly resolved upon missionary work. Moreover, narrow as the life of a monastery might be, it nevertheless brought him a wide experience of life, more so, perhaps, than a secular career could have done. His missionary labours, and especially his work of organisation, forced him into a renewed contact with leaders in State and Church, and his ability to move freely among them, provided that their mode of life did not arouse conscientious scruples in him, had already been learnt at home, as had also the power to command.

At the same time he introduced on to the continent features such as the remarkably close relationship between bishopric and monastery, and the exercise by monks of the pastoral and priestly ministry which were peculiar to the organisation of the English church. The institution of the double monastery for men and women under a single head (cf. Heidenheim) also followed English models. It was owing to the particular historical situation obtaining at the time that Boniface also became the reorganiser, if not the reformer, of the Frankish church, which was to a great extent in ruins by the time he set foot on the continent. As the state-church which it then was it had been caught up in the state's own disruption. A large number of the sees were vacant; others, in addition to abbeys, were in the hands of men devoid of any feeling for the church;

church property, without which reconstruction was impossible, was extensively alienated. The priesthood was partly made up of runaway slaves, who had got themselves tonsured in order to escape their masters; many were not ordained at all, and without any education; others were given to shameful vices[4]. It was indeed providential that the new ruler of Austrasia, Karloman, who succeeded the reorganiser of the Frankish state Charles Martel, was also keenly interested in the reconstruction of the Frankish church, and that his brother Pippin to a great extent shared this interest. In 741 Karloman summoned to his aid in carrying through the reorganisation of the church the man who had already abundantly proved himself as an ecclesiastical organiser. It cannot have been easy for Boniface to respond whole-heartedly to this summons. Not that he would have denied the need of such a reform, the necessity of which was evident enough to him in his missionary work, but hitherto he had worked in close conjunction with the Pope—we shall consider this point more closely later on—and this particular reform came from the state. Was he to concede to the state this amount of influence in the church? Boniface did in fact do so, and once again it was the example of his homeland which seems to have been prescriptive for him. In Anglo-Saxon countries the relation between state and church was a very intimate one, not merely in the form of a close personal cooperation between the king and the clergy, but in the peculiar position which the king occupied within the church. He was expressly consecrated to his office by an anointing received at the hands of the church. Under the influence of the Irish the biblical precedent of Saul and David appears to have been carried over into the Germanic conception of kingship. In itself this would cause no difficulty, inasmuch as the Germanic king already possessed a sacral character in heathen times, only now the position of the king carried with it ecclesiastical functions. The authority of the royal decrees explicitly extended to ecclesiastical matters, markedly so in the case of the law of King Ine of Wessex, who had sent his contemporary Boniface as diplomatic delegate to Canterbury. In face of such precedents at home Boniface did not refuse the appeal of the Frankish mayor of the palace; indeed in Karloman's reform there are echoes in individual particulars of the law of King Ine. In time the relations between the missionary and the Carolingian mayors of the palace must have become very close indeed[5]. When

Pippin was reaching out after the Frankish crown and was anxious for the moral support of the Pope in the matter, it was one of Boniface's confidants, Bishop Burchard of Würzburg, who accompanied Pippin's own representative, Abbot Fulrad of St. Denis, to Rome, and together they made up the embassage; and when the new king received the crown, Boniface anointed him to his office in accordance with English custom. This had far reaching effects on German history, for the conception that German kings held their office by the grace of God would seem to go back to this anointing—at all events this religious formula makes its appearance in royal documents immediately afterwards — and the significance of the divine right of kings for both German and French history can hardly be overestimated. Its effects were felt right down to William II.

It was to all accounts through the agency of Boniface that the connection between the Frankish king and the church became so close that one is inclined to speak, even under Pippin, of a theocracy, i.e. of a form of government which is simultaneously that of the state and of the church. Here too the famous son, Charlemagne, was only completing what his father had begun.

Inasmuch, however, as Pippin was the sole ruler of the whole of the Frankish territory, the Austrasian archbishop's cooperation with him led to complete uniformity between the eastern and western parts of his kingdom. It was thus through Boniface in the first instance that the entire Frankish kingdom became a unity, which, in view of the cultural preeminence of the church at that time, meant the cultural unity of the kingdom as a whole; and without this the empire of Charlemagne is hardly conceivable.

In becoming the unifying agency of the Frankish kingdom, however, this church of all the Franks ceased to remain in the isolated position of a regional church which it had occupied hitherto but was at the same time incorporated along with the rest into the universal Catholic Church and subjected to Rome.

What led him to do this? The Anglo-Saxons were the only Germanic people in whose conversion to Christianity Rome had taken a direct part. This was entirely a personal achievement on the part of Pope Gregory the Great. It is true, as has already been stated, that besides Rome the Irish had done considerable work there, but in 664, at the synod of Streoneshalh, the modern Whitby, the Roman use carried the day against them. Moreover, Rome was solely responsible for what had been accomplished in Wessex, with the result that the Pope was looked upon as the head of the mission there. Thus Willibrord had already applied for authorisation from the Pope of his work amongst the Frisians. It was therefore a matter of course that Boniface should also put all his missionary work under the authority of Rome.

Over and above this, there was among the Anglo-Saxons a specially strong devotion to St. Peter as the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, an entirely new development within the Catholic Church. For the first time the Pope was now exercising authoritative powers in England such as he enjoyed nowhere else outside the area of the city of Rome. Alone, and on his own authority, he nominated bishops, even the Primate of England, e.g. Archbishop Theodore, a foreigner who could not speak the language, and was able to carry it through. Boniface had grown up familiar with the idea that it was essential for the church to stand in this close relation to the Curia, and quite naturally he put it into practice on the continent. The fact that the Pope was now able on his own authority to appoint him first a bishop, and then archbishop in East Franconia, is for this reason almost more significant than the oath of allegiance which he required from Boniface as premier bishop on this side of the Alps. As a result, in 747, at Boniface's suggestion, the bishops of the whole Frankish empire sent a voluntary declaration of submission to the Pope. We have already noted the close relationship between the Pope and the monarch himself, Pippin. Thus in this sphere also Boniface was successful in giving effect to his views.

Whether, even apart from Boniface, the church on this side of the Alps would have arrived at such a connection with Rome, is really an unprofitable question. There are certain signs which point that way. The Pope had already previously been esteemed as a moral authority in the Frankish empire. In 716 Duke Theodo of Bavaria made a pilgrimage to Rome, the first non-English king to do so. England paid unreserved homage to the throne of Peter, and in 695, at the express command of Pippin the Elder, Willibrord made his second journey to Rome to receive the pallium. But be that as it may, it was Boniface at all events who actually established the juridical relationship with Rome. Everyone knows how vehemently he has been attacked for this, and yet it is a simple matter of fact that the West owes its inner unity solely to a long period of history shared in common under the Papacy, and obvious as it may be that such a connection with Rome also brought dangers along with it, whoever gives his assent to the concept of " the West " is for that reason debarred from disowning this act on the part of Boniface. Let us repeat, the West is historically inconceivable apart from the factor of spiritual unity which Rome provided, and the position which one adopts towards this will determine one's judgement on this part of Boniface's work.

There is a further and last point in this connection which we must touch upon. It is commonly recognised that three factors go to make up the West, the Germanic element, Christianity in its Roman form, and the surviving influence of antiquity. Now Boniface also played a decisive part in the transmission of the last of these. In Rome and Gaul at this period no one was occupied with it. A Christian did not deliberately expose himself to pagan thought. But in Irish monasteries the study of the leading spirits of classical antiquity had never ceased. They had passed on this tradition to the Anglo-Saxons, and Boniface was a devoted adherent of it. He left the first monastery he had entered, at Exeter, because it did not have enough to offer him in this very field, and later, at Nursling, he became a learned and distinguished scholar. It is beyond question that no other single church in the West at the time could compete with the florescence of intellectual life in the England of the eighth century, and it was this tradition from England that the monasteries which Boniface founded on the continent now took over in their turn. So deeply did Boniface penetrate the culture of the following period that it is as impossible to conceive the Ottonian renaissance without his foundation at Fulda as it is the Carolingian renaissance without the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin.

To sum up; in his whole person, and over the whole field of his activity, Boniface was conditioned by his homeland. Not a single new idea owes its origin to him; he is not a great man in the intellectual sphere. What he had learnt at home he carried out into practice on the continent almost automatically. But as a personality of great integrity and piety, and of manifestly compelling power, he fought with restless and unflagging effort, and with infinite tenacity, for what he had recognised to be the right, and in the course of a long life the results he achieved were astounding.

Two conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing. The first relates to the subject of the West. It will have become clear that the West came into being as the result of a cooperative effort undertaken under the sign of the Cross. Even in such a brief review as could be given here we have encountered Romans and Franks, Irish and Anglo-Saxons, with the German peoples as well, all playing their part. In most cases it was Boniface who acted as the all important intermediary, and this is his decisive significance for history. In the present age also the West will only endure by means of a collaboration undertaken on an oecumenical scale under the sign of the Cross, and we can only pray God that he may continue to give us men who will at all times act as the occasion demands with the same zest for work, the same forcefulness, but also with the same love for Christ, as animated Boniface.

The second conclusion is of a more personal kind. One cannot but be deeply impressed when one sees how simple and obedient service rendered to Christ in self-evident devotion and without ulterior motive invests a man at the same time with an immense effectiveness in the world, and with a positive significance for history. True fellowship with Christ and a self-denying dedication to him such as are characteristic of Christian men make also, as these examples show, for historical greatness. Boniface belongs to the number of men and women, and assuredly he is not the least of them, who have demonstrated this. That he might serve for us as a pattern would be the finest service in this respect he could perform for us to-day.

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[1] For the sources the best authority is now Wilhelm Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century, Oxford 1946, pp 70ff and 280ff.

[2] H. Lau, Die angelsächsische Missionsmethode im Zeitalter des Bonifaz. Dissertation, Kiel 1909. Franz Flaskamp, Die Missionsmethode des hl. Bonifatius, 2 Auflage, Hildesheim 1929—Geschictliche Darstellungen und Quellen 8. Joseph Lortz, Untersuchungen zur Missionsmethode und zur Frommigkeit des hl. Bonifatius nach seinen Briefen (Theologische Quartalschrift Jg. 120, 1940, pp. 133-167.

[3] K. D. Schmidt, Das Christentum und die althochdeutsche Sprache (ders., Germanischer Glaube und Christentum, 1948, pp. 85-112.

[4] Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I, 508f.

[5] This must be said as against Hauck.

The Training of the Clergy

By LEONARD HODGSON

THE first necessity is to recognise that to be a professional theologian is a special vocation, that all clergy do not have this calling, and that our system of training needs to be based on an understanding of the difference between the needs of those to whom this vocation is given and those whose vocation to Holy Orders is on other grounds.

We need not delay over the training of the theologians. They are amply provided for, and by the time that their mental development shows that they have this vocation they are capable of knowing their own needs and how to make use of the various facilities offered by universities and colleges. They will develop into specialists in different branches of theology, will be engaged in first hand research work involving the study of primary authorities, and will be responsible for the production of books which contribute to the advance of theological learning.

What of the others, of those whose work is to be mainly evangelistic or pastoral? How much do they need of the academic discipline which is proper for the budding theologians, and how should it be provided? Do they need simply a lesser amount of the same kind of study, or should their work be planned on different lines altogether?

To answer these questions, it is necessary first to get a clear idea of the part which their knowledge of theology should play in their ministry as a whole, and to relate their training to it. Here I submit that their intellectual studies should aim at two things:

(i) Just as a doctor in general practice must have a knowledge of medical science which enables him rightly to diagnose and prescribe, so, if he is to be able to guide his flock in right ways of living and praying, every priest should be able to tell the difference between true and false expressions of Christian doctrine. The doctor does not have to explain to his patient the chemistry involved in applying calomel to the human liver, but he has to know it in order to advise him to take the right pill. The priest need not give his people lectures on the formation of the Old Testament, the synoptic problem, Sabellianism, Apollinarianism or Nestorianism, but his preaching and teaching must come from a mind informed by a right understanding of such things.

His knowledge of theology should enable him to recognise what is true and what false in the beliefs of his flock. When, for example, he hears a man say " I don't know what I've done to deserve this," it helps him to think within himself: " That implies an idea of God out of which our spiritual ancestors were being educated when the book of Job was written." Again: " Jesus was God and knew everything: he can't have suffered anything like this horrible anxiety about what may happen to my son in the army in Korea." " Apollinarianism," says the parson to himself, and knows where he is. It has helped him that he has been able to translate the language of their self-expression into the technical terms of his theological training. Now his task is to translate true doctrine out of technical terms into the language of his people. That is something he can only learn by being in and out among them. My present point is that his theological training should aim at giving him the material to translate. All clergy, whether professional theologians or not, should have an intelligent grasp of the Christian faith.

(ii) Secondly, they should be able to understand what the theologians are doing, to make use of the published fruits of their researches for the nourishment of their own minds and as material, where suitable, for translation into teaching that will help their people. A good doctor in general practice will be able to profit by reading the *Lancet* and the *B.M.J.* Some years ago, when I got infected by *brucella abortus*, my doctor had to go and read it up in his junior partner's books because the germ had not been identified by the time his own were published. The parish priest should be educated to be able to have the same kind of interest as the general practitioner in the work of specialists in research.

An intelligent grasp of the Christian faith, its biblical foundations and what it means for life and worship, together with sufficient " knowledge of the ropes " to be able to follow what is going on in the field of theological research: this is what we should aim at as equipment on the intellectual side.

A certain amount of this is provided for by the universities in the case of men who read theology for their degrees. They lay a good foundation in knowledge of the Bible, Christian doctrine, Church history and some other subjects, a foundation which any man capable of reading for honours may well be advised to lay, whether or no he has the vocation to be a professional theologian.

It is good that at the university stage of his education the ordinand should be living, reading and thinking among all sorts and conditions of men, Christian and otherwise. But just as it is impossible to draw a triangle except in one of its forms, isosceles, scalene, or equilateral, so the Christian faith can only be lived and preached in some definite tradition. After the university must come the denominational theological college. For us that means a college where men are to be trained to be ministers of the Christian faith as that faith has been received and is held by the Church of England.

The theological college has to make provision for four classes of students: (i) those who have read theology for their degrees and have the marks of a vocation to be professional theologians; (ii) those who have read theology for their degrees but have no such specialised vocation; (iii) those who have taken their degrees in other subjects and have to begin the study of theology from the start; (iv) non-graduates who may or may not have already acquired some theological knowledge.

All these will form a community, sharing together in the devotional life of the college and in whatever provision can be made at that stage for training in *pastoralia*. Those are matters I leave on one side; it would be impertinent for me to offer any opinions where I should sit at the feet of the staffs of our theological colleges who, on the whole, are doing these things so well. I will confine myself to the question of what should be done in the academic matter of education in theology. Here, as a Regius Professor of Divinity, I have some right to speak.

(ii)

The first thing necessary is the abolition of the General Ordination Examination, hereinafter referred to as G.O.E. I am old enough to have memories of experience as an examining chaplain n years before there was any G.O.E. No one in his senses would vish to go back to those days; the Central Advisory Council on raining for the Ministry (hereinafter referred to as C.A.C.T.M.) ndoubtedly did right in establishing it. It helped to effect a much eeded reform. It was a good thing and it has done good work. ut it has outlived its usefulness. Committees of C.A.C.T.M. and rincipals of theological colleges meet almost annually to make lans for its improvement. But it is no good trying to mend matters y tinkering with it. For at least three good reasons its case is hope-ess, and it ought to go.

(i) It is impossible to make it into a good examination. To be eady for ordination a man must know something about too many ubjects to be able to have them all in his mind at a decent examina-ion level. In preparation for G.O.E. it pays to scamp: what is equired is to be able to satisfy examiners about so many things hat there is no time to give proper attention to any of them. The esult is that the able man, who has some sense of standards, espises it; the weak candidate substitutes cramming for learning: result which is good for neither.

(ii) Even on the intellectual side the examination of anonymous andidates by anonymous examiners is not the right kind of xamination to be a test of fitness for ordination. It is the kind f test which is in order for the award of university degrees, and hould be kept for that kind of purpose.

C.A.C.T.M., I know, is fully aware of the need that this xamination should not be too academic in character, and should e directed towards its proper end. It does its best to exhort xaminers along these lines. But such efforts are as futile as those o reorganize the syllabus and bring the list of subjects within a anageable compass. If a nation-wide general examination of this ind is to be maintained, inevitably the examining will get into the ands of us academically minded people. And so long as he has to e working for an external examination conducted by anonymous xaminers, nothing will prevent the candidate's preparation from eing bedevilled by the sense that what is needed is the same kind f academic interest that was required for his degree.

(iii) Effective teaching is prevented by the necessity of preparing en for this external examination. Given the standing condition that to be fit for ordination a candidate must know something about so many subjects, what should be the aim of the curriculum of a theological college? It should frankly recognise that all that can be done is to lay foundations, giving such knowledge and insight as will kindle interest and make men want to know more. An external examination can only test what a man already knows, but what is to be looked for in an ordination candidate is promise rather than performance.[1]

If, for example, I were on the staff of a theological college, and had to try to teach Greek to men who knew nothing of it, I should want to help them to make use of all the available time to discover for themselves how knowledge of the language deepens their understanding of the New Testament. But my efforts would be frustrated if at the same time I knew that I had to be preparing them by a certain date to convince some external examiner that they can translate passages set from the Gospels. The two aims are contradictory, and I should not be able to complain if my pupil told me that for him it was a better use of his time to learn the English of the Revised Version by heart and trust to be able to recognise the opening words of the passages set in Greek.

I have illustrated this point by reference to the study of Greek, where it can most clearly be seen. The principle holds good of other subjects also. I doubt if there is any subject of which it is not true that a great burden would be removed from the teacher's mind if he could feel free to devote himself to kindling and maintaining his pupils' interest in it, free from the sense that in their minds what matters most is the necessity of preparing to answer the sort of questions likely to be set by academically-minded anonymous external examiners.

Here is further evidence of the impossibility of making G.O.E. a good examination. My first criticism of it was that it must of necessity cover too many subjects for a candidate to have them all together in his mind at examination level at the same time. It is attempted to meet this criticism by allowing it to be taken in successive parts. The result is that at no time is the ordinand free from the sense of impending examination. In the years when I was a college tutor, engaged in preparing pupils for the final honour school of Theology at Oxford, they had seven terms in which to cover a more concentrated field of study. I was able to advise them for the first five terms, i.e. from Easter in one year until, not the next Christmas, but the Christmas after that, to forget about the examination altogether, to lose themselves in their subjects of study and leave it to me to see that they were observing a due proportion in view of what would ultimately be required of them: it would be time enough in January of their last year to begin putting the results in shape for examination. In present conditions there is no occasion on which such advice can be given by a tutor in a Theological College preparing pupils for the G.O.E.

(iii)

When G.O.E. is abolished, what are we to put in its place? I have already said that in my opinion no one in his senses would wish to go back to the conditions prevailing before it was established. It will help to recall those days and to see the needs which G.O.E. was devised to meet. We can then consider whether in the circumstances of to-day they could not be better met in some other way.

When I was ordained deacon in 1913 the entire examination was conducted by the examining chaplains of the diocese of Winchester. When I became an examining chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield in 1917 we were a body of six, similarly responsible for drawing up the syllabus and conducting the examination of candidates for ordination in that diocese. As examining chaplains we became aware of the pressure exerted on our bishop to persuade him to temper the wind to shorn lambs, pressure from overworked ncumbents crying out for the assistance of prospective deacons, pressure from the friends of weak candidates explaining what good ellows they were in spite of their intellectual defects. Lurid tales were told of how in some other diocese—always some other diocese –the bishop had jockeyed a man through by appointing as sole pecial examiner *pro hac vice* an archdeacon who was his uncle. Our bishop would never have countenanced any such dodge, and e backed us up loyally in our efforts to maintain a good standard, ven in cases where it was pain and grief to him to have to say No ” to candidate or incumbent. Often we felt what a blessing would be if men only came to us after satisfying some objective standard of qualification in respect of their intellectual studies. We welcomed G.O.E. as giving precisely this.

At the same time it was welcome to the Theological Colleges, where the students would no longer have to be preparing for so many different diocesan examinations, each with its own syllabus. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether the change was altogether an improvement. There was real educational value in the system whereby the college was free to give in lectures and tutorials what it considered the best general course of instruction, leaving it to individual students to adapt and supplement it in accordance with the requirements of their own prospective examinations, a value less easily achieved when all has to be directed towards the single cut and dried G.O.E. syllabus. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how better the situation could have been met at the time. G.O.E. supplied a real need, and was rightly welcomed alike by bishops, examining chaplains and theological colleges.

This glance at past history enables us to tabulate the *desiderata* as follows:

Bishops and examining chaplains should be able to take for granted the qualifications of candidates in respect of technical intellectual studies;

Theological colleges should be free to give their students the best education and training they can, free from the crippling necessity of having to tutor, coach or cram them to pass an unedifying external examination.

How can these apparently contradictory *desiderata* be achieved?

Since those old days there have been other changes which make them less contradictory than appears at first sight. Besides establishing G.O.E., C.A.C.T.M. has brought in and developed its Selection Boards, and has instituted a system of inspection of Theological Colleges. These two innovations have produced a change in the whole situation. I suggest that the purpose for which G.O.E. was invented could now be better achieved by C.A.C.T.M. developing its work along these two other lines.

I am not here concerned with the Selection Boards beyond recognising their value, from the point of view of an examining chaplain, as certifying that the candidates who come before one's bishop have been recommended by judges other than those personally interested in them. I must leave it to others to consider whatever of revision may be desirable in what I have called the "developing" of this work. The point I want to make is that it should now be possible for the bishops to trust the Theological Colleges in a way which was impossible before C.A.C.T.M. took them under its wing. I believe that a bishop could now safely accept a certificate from a theological college that Mr. X is educationally qualified for ordination as of equal value with the appearance of Mr. X's name in the list of candidates who have passed G.O.E. Indeed, for reasons already given, I think it would probably have greater value, for the college could have given Mr. X a better education than it is a present allowed to.

It may be, however, that some bishops would still have qualms about this. And the principals and staffs of Theological Colleges may shrink from a freedom which involves the responsibility for rejecting as well as commending candidates. It is to meet these points that I want to suggest that C.A.C.T.M. should develop and strengthen its work in association with the Theological Colleges. I can best explain what I have in mind by an illustration drawn from another sphere.

Until recently I was for some years external examiner in divinity to a Training College for school teachers. The examination n the subject, conducted by a certain university, consisted of two papers. In the first instance the questions were drafted and the candidates' scripts marked by the internal examiner; my task was o revise his questions and his marks; our agreed decisions were hen reported to the university authorities. There came a time when the university decided to set only one paper on the subject, and to substitute for the mark on the other what was called an "assessment mark," given by the candidate's college as summing up his progress during his two years of residence. It seemed to me hat to reduce his responsibility to the scrutiny of one paper was a *eductio ad absurdum* of the office of an external examiner. I conulted with my internal colleague and we devised a system by which e would send me a certain number of the students' essays, and I would visit the college, interview the men and discuss their work with them. Then we agreed upon the assessment mark to be reported to the university.

That experience suggests to my mind lines on which C.A.C.T.M. might well explore possible lines of advance. I do not for a moment imagine that a system which worked well for a particular purpose at a Training College could simply be transferred and used as it stands for a different purpose elsewhere. Numberless problems would have to be surmounted in the working out of details. But it does not seem to me to be beyond the bounds of possibility that in consultation with each other C.A.C.T.M. and the Theological Colleges could devise a workable system whereby bishops could accept the certificate of a College countersigned by one or more persons appointed by C.A.C.T.M.

A possible corollary of this reform might be a revival in the functions of examining chaplains. At present, in some dioceses, so far as ordination to the diaconate is concerned, they have dwindled almost to nothing. There has been some loss here. But that, like all questions concerning Selection Boards, belongs to another *skepsis.*

(iv)

Finally, a word on the economics of the situation. The present standard length of a Theological College Course is two years. It costs £300 a year to keep a student there, so that each ordinand costs £600. It makes no difference whether the money comes from C.A.C.T.M., diocesan funds, the candidates themselves, or their relations and friends: it is all good church money. Assuming an average ordination of 400 deacons a year, the church is spending £240,000 a year on the theological college stage of their education which, for reasons I have given, is not as good as it might be.

It is the pressure of G.O.E. which has led to the extension of the course from the one year of my youth to the present two years, which leads some Principals of Theological Colleges to be urging a further extension still. The Principals and their staffs know that much is needed in the way of training besides the academic requirements of the G.O.E. examiners: so long as the minds of the students are obsessed by the thought of that examination they are at their wits' end to discover how to fit in the other *desiderata.*

I believe that if the Colleges were freed from this incubus they could do better in a year and a half what they are now compelled to do badly in two years. They should be free to devise their own curriculum, treating the academic subjects on the lines I have indicated in the first two sections of this paper and weaving them into a co-ordinated whole with the other necessary elements in the training of ordinands. The products of the present two-year system do not seem to me to be so outstandingly superior to my contemporaries as to show that we are getting value for money. The church does not exist for the sake of the colleges, but the colleges for the church, and if they could produce as good clergy in eighteen months we are wasting £60,000 a year.

The church has a limited amount of money which it can spend on education. One of the most promising fields for advance and expansion in educational work is the equipping of laity to bear an intelligent witness to the faith. The experiment on these lines undertaken by William Temple College has already shown the value of what can be done. But such an institution has to struggle along in a state of financial starvation while it sees the money that would give it health and strength thrown away on forcing embryo clergy through an unsuitable examination.

The church is not making the best use of its educational resources when the £240,000 a year which it spends on its clergy includes £60,000 which would be better spent on such work as that to be done at Rugby.

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[1] There is a parallel in the fact that at the university stage wise colleges will not elect to entrance scholarships on the basis of credits n examinations of the school higher certificate type.

A Twentieth-Century Anglican Saint

By W. H. RIGG

TOWARDS the end of 1907 Dr. Talbot, the then Bishop of Southwark, asked me to come and see him about the living of Christ Church, Bermondsey. Whoever came, the bishop insisted, must get into touch with a certain Dr. Stansfeld and the Oxford Medical Mission, and do his best to cooperate with them. After some delay and with much hesitation I wrote to the bishop and said were the offer of the parish to come my way I would accept it, with the result that on the last day of December I found myself in Bermondsey.

The O.M.M., as it was called in those days, worked almost exclusively in St. Mary's, Bermondsey, and the much smaller parish of Christ Church, Bermondsey. It is therefore with more than ordinary interest that I welcome such a book as *The Doctor*, written by Mr. Barclay Baron[1].

To me at least he has made the Bermondsey of the early years of the twentieth century before the first great war live again, and the wonderful picture he has drawn of "The Doctor" rekindles my enthusiasm and reminds me of the debt of gratitude which I, with so many others, owe to his guidance and inspiration.

Taking his description of Bermondsey first, it may be said that it is not at all overdrawn. The differences between Dockhead or Jacob's Island and the rest of the neighbourhood has not escaped his notice. "From the first the 'Dockers' were, if possible, livelier, hungrier both for food and fellowship, almost more faithful than any other members of the O.M.M."[2] Being the Irish quarter of South London, the population was more rowdy than in most places; perhaps, too, that was why they liked to settle their domestic differences in the street, though they never lost their charm or warmth of feeling for those they liked. It was only on St. Patrick's Day that it was advisable for an Englishman to make himself scarce.

It was said that policemen did not dare to go alone but went in pairs down London Street, which was flanked on the one side by Wolseley Buildings and the Dockhead Club and on the other by three-storied buildings. Be that as it may, yet in a comparison made by our author between Bermondsey as a whole and the West End he maintained that its streets were certainly safer for an unattended woman.[3] This was a remark often made in my time.

How different were those days to these will best be judged by the readers of this book turning to two pictures facing p. 214: boys of Webb Street school, Bermondsey, in the 1890's, and boys of the same school forty years later. Everything conspired to make the people live in the present. Those working in the wharves and the docks rarely had a full week's employment; they were continually out of work, so that there was little regular work for men. In short, it was a hand-to-mouth existence. Many of the women and girls worked in the numerous food and jam factories, and, judged by present-day standards, even after making due allowance that money went much further in those days than it does now, it was a small pittance they received. Rents were high, and how to pay them weighed heavily on the housewives. Even after thirty-five years I still remember a poor woman bringing out a huge bottle of cod-liver oil which had been given her at the hospital and telling me that that was all she had in the house. There was no unemployment money, no adequate school medical service, and baby clinics were unknown. Small wonder was it that with few exceptions the people possessed little moral backbone. Promises were easily made and as easily broken. For the most part the majority of the inhabitants were cheerful pagans doing acts of kindness on the spur of the moment, breaking all the commandments and yet the most lovable souls imaginable.

This was the situation which confronted Dr. Stansfeld when he came to Bermondsey. Mr. Barclay Baron lets us into the secret of how The Doctor went to work. He found a house in Abbey Street, the ground floor of which was given to the dispensary and consulting room. He relates how he was swamped with patients. "No charge was made for treatment or medicines, but a box was kept for gifts and 'Patients' pence' usually paid the heavy drug bill." Then the boys began to come to the surgery, the condition being that they should attend a Bible class on Sundays at 3 p.m. The start must be told in his own words, as it is very characteristic. "3 o'clock came. No boys. I looked out, and there were two of them going down the street. I said 'Come to Bible Class!' They ran away.

But I could run faster than they could. I caught them and brought them in."[4]

He always took a definite line. The Sunday classes formed the centre of his work, and the clubs took second place. Only those who attended the classes on Sundays were allowed to become members of Dockhead or any of the other clubs. Every night during the week the clubs were closed with family prayers. "The system worked well, and we always had a larger attendance on Sundays than on any other night."[5] This supports the view that Church clubs should be for those who already attend church rather than let them be open to all and sundry in the hope that the right influences will be brought to bear upon them so that in the end they will be roped in to some class or service.

The Doctor's methods were highly individual and were in the best sense successful. In the words of the late Archbishop Temple, "The first time I visited the club was during my second year at Oxford (1901). I was taken to a basement room, where a crowd of some twenty people sat on benches round the wall; one corner was screened off. The Doctor stood in the middle, with myself just behind him, and preached with great directness for about five minutes. Then he turned abruptly and dived into the corner behind the screen, beckoning me to follow. We found a rickety table and three uninviting chairs. I sat on an end one and was given a pencil and a writing tablet; the Doctor sat in the middle; on the other chair sat the patients, one after another. With each a conversation took place on the following lines; 'Put out your tongue . . . Where did you go to church on Sunday? . . . Open your mouth . . . Why not? Say ninety-nine . . . Well, I'll give you some medicine, but mind you say your prayers and go to church in future.' The gaps represent inarticulate replies, the patient being in an attitude prohibitive of speech, but the Doctor knew the answers without hearing. Then, after I had sat there taking notes for him at his dictation after each had left, he suddenly said, 'We must have finished the first lot by now and there will be another crowd; go out and speak the Word to them for a few minutes' ".[6]

In the Dockhead Club there was generally a pandemonium but at 9.40 p.m. prayers were taken. Very often a hymn was sung, the favourite ones being (at least in my time), "It is well with my soul, it is well!", or far better, "What a friend we have in Jesus". This was followed by a very short talk, more often than not by one of the officers themselves. If my memory serves me aright one of them lived in Hickman's Folly, a narrow sunless alley, not fit for human habitation, and he always commanded attention. The service ended with an extempore prayer and blessing. It was a stroke of genius on the Doctor's part to make the leaders of the club give short addresses which often benefited themselves far more than their hearers, though what could be more apt than the maiden speech delivered by a junior officer who chose for his text, "Two sparrows sold for a farthing": " 'Sparrers?' he began, on a note of derision. 'We don't sell no sparrers, not in Bermondsey. Kippers is wot 'E would 'ave said if 'E'd been 'ere. A pair of kippers sold for three-'aipence—that's wot 'E meant.' In a few more sentences he compared the worth of the least of club-members with even the best of kippers, and a dark corner of the Gospel was immediately flooded with a bright light."[7] In contrast to this the parable of the Sower was almost worked to death, one officer making use of it to warn his hearers against wasteful extravagance!

One unforgettable scene which happened on a Sunday afternoon remains in my memory. After the officers of the Dockhead Club had regaled themselves with cocoa and buns spread with very sticky jam, and the room had been tidied up, the Doctor asked us all to sit round the table. Forthwith he opened the proceedings by saying, "Now we must think what we can do to extend the Kingdom of God." As time went on, and I looked at the Doctor, and then noted the quiet intent faces of those rough lads, there stole over me the feeling of awe. The Doctor reminded me so much of what our Lord must have looked like and the lads the Twelve Disciples at the Last Supper. If only I had been an artist my subject would have been ready at hand.

The Doctor possessed an extraordinary personality entirely devoted to the glory of God, and was a lover of his fellow-men unequalled by any, so far as my experience goes, of the followers of the Son of Man. He was practical as well as being fearless of what people might think or say of him.

After leaving Bermondsey he became Rector of St. Ebbe's, Oxford, which was regarded as the black spot of the city. He discovered that Christ Church was the ground landlord of much of the property in that quarter. "He opened his attack with all arms, by personal interview, by the spoken, written and printed word. He included in his onslaught Dr. Phelps, Provost of Oriel, the Chairman of the Oxford Preservation Trust."[8] In the end he won the day. This was not the only encounter he had with Christ Church, who rounded on his attack by making him an honorary canon of the cathedral, and in the end put him into a college living for the last job of his life. This was all the more to their credit, as he had won a second victory against them by defeating a proposal of theirs to build on an open site in his parish. He both preached and practised the gospel of work, as our author truly observes about his work at St. Ebbe's, which applied to everywhere the Doctor went: "Work was there as always the beginning of the gospel of salvation, not least manual work which tests the muscles, enlarges a man's pride of achievement and at the same time opens his heart to those working alongside him. If every church could find work—first plain labourer's, then higher demands to fit, or surpass, the capacity of each parishioner—it would have to complain much less of empty pews."[9]

His nature was not without its mystical side. In fulfilling one of the dreams of his life when he visited Palestine he went to Emmaus. "As we stood on the site of the Inn and remembered the invitation 'Abide with us, for it is toward even', the Doctor stood still and his lips murmured in one of his audible meditations, 'The guest becomes the host—the guest becomes the host'."[10]

Like his Master he expressed himself in short pithy sentences which had a way of sticking in the minds of his hearers. He filled the odd spaces on the back pages of his country parish leaflet at Spelsbury with homely proverbs, some quoted and some of his own devising. "Thus, on the life of religion: 'A Church is either on ice or on fire'; 'The commonest religion—Seventh Day Absentists'; 'The Bible promises no loaves to the loafer'; 'Someone is going to smart a bit if you are the salt of the earth.' Or, on the life of every day: 'Why not keep your temper? No one wants it'; 'Don't heave good deeds about as if they were brickbats'; Others taken at random: 'Peace is not the absence of war; Peace is the presence of God'. On dangerous driving in the lanes: 'Go to sleep holding the wheel and wake up holding a harp'."[11]

There was a "directness" in the Doctor's training and nature. "People were always real to him and he confronted them with a supreme Reality, living men with the ever-living Man. He made 'the Teaching' very plain but he never pretended it was easy and he never blurred its clear outline with sentimentality".[12] "He had himself practised the presence of God for so long that he bore about with him in the most ordinary affairs the marks of the Lord Jesus."[13]

There is a most interesting chapter on "Some of the Disciples". One of those who afterwards came to live in the worst part of my parish must be mentioned, known to us as Alec Paterson, best known in more recent times for the great work he had accomplished in connexion with prison reform when he transformed the Borstal system from a boys' prison into a school. He came to Bermondsey as a Unitarian, but it was the Doctor's influence and, as he once said to me, the reading of St. John's Gospel which led him to know that Jesus was Divine.

May I suggest that Mr. Barclay Baron's book should be one of the set books for the Priest's Ordination examination? Further, any man who has had a town parish and is about to retire into the country can with profit study the Doctor's life at Spelsbury, and learn for himself what a busy life he can spend in a country district, and how withal he can become an effective witness to Christ.

If you want to understand a little the Romance of Christianity in the twentieth century read the book about "The Doctor", written from inside knowledge with much love but no sentimentality, and, however old you may be, you will hear afresh through John Stansfeld's life the voice of the Risen Christ and your heart will burn within you as He speaks to you by the way.

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[1] *The Doctor. The Story of John Stansfeld of Oxford and Bermondsey.* Edward Arnold & Co. 16*s*.

[2] p. 50.

[3] p. 12.

[4] p. 17.

[5] p. 17.

[6] p. 22.

[7] p. 24.

[8] p. 72.

[9] p. 78.

[10] p. 136.

[11] p. 127, 128.

[12] p. 148.

[13] p. 149.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. By C. H. Dodd. (Cambridge University Press) 1953. P. xii, 478. 42s. net.

One of the earliest and greatest of those who have written about the Fourth Gospel, Origen, has said of it, οὐ τὸν νοῦν οὐδεὶς δύναται λαβεῖν μὴ ἀναπεσῶν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος Ἰησοῦ, and one cannot lay down this latest attempt to sound the depths of the profoundest of the New Testament writings without feeling that the author has continually kept in mind this searching comment. In comparison with many contemporary theologians, Professor Dodd has not been a voluminous writer, but everything he has written has possessed great pith and moment, and no one has exercised a more powerful influence upon biblical, and especially New Testament studies, in our generation. Hence all students of the New Testament will hail with joy the appearance of this truly great book which so fitly crowns a lifetime devoted to these *studia sacra*.

The book is not a commentary on the Fourth Gospel in the accepted sense of the term. Its scope is restricted, says Professor Dodd in his Preface, to the attempt to establish some general principles and lines of direction for the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. But this is the greatest service any one can render to those who approach the study of the Gospel; it is really of far greater value than a detailed verse by verse commentary, and it may be said at once that Professor Dodd has succeeded in what he set himself to do. This new map of the interior will be indispensable to all future explorers of the heights and depths which lie still undiscovered in the celestial and yet terrestrial regions of those twenty-one chapters of such seemingly artless language.

Professor Dodd's book falls into three parts. The first 130 pages deal with what the author calls the background of the Gospel. Those who are familiar with Professor Dodd's work, and there can be few who are not, will know how valuable and illuminating a use he has made of the *sitz im leben* concept. In the first part of his book Professor Dodd seeks to reconstruct the climate of thought inhabited by such intelligent and seriously-minded dwellers in Asia Minor as he believes the author of the Fourth Gospel was addressing. He suggests that the evangelist has in view "a non-Christian public to which he wishes to appeal." He also suggests further on that the author is thinking, "in the first place, not so much of Christians who need a deeper theology, as of non-Christians who are concerned about eternal life and the way to it, and may be ready to follow the Christian way if this is presented to them in terms that are intelligibly related to their previous religious interests and experience." Such a type of audience is to be found, according to Professor Dodd, in the varied and cosmopolitan society of a great Hellenistic city such as Ephesus under the Roman Empire. The principal sources from which he draws the material for his reconstruction are, first the Hermetic literature, hitherto the least explored, to which he devotes the major portion of this section of his book; then Philo of Alexandria, the literature of Rabbinic Judaism, of Gnosticism, and finally the Mandaic texts whose possible relevance is briefly dismissed. After a very full discussion of the leading ideas of the Hermetic writings, amply illustrated by quotations, Professor Dodd sums up as follows: "It seems clear that as a whole they (i.e., the Hermetic writings) represent a type of religious thought akin to one side of Johannine thought, without any substantial borrowing on one side or the other. It is when we have done justice to this kinship that we are likely to recognize the full significance of those elements in Johannine thought which are in striking contrast to the *Hermetica*, and in which we must seek the distinctively Christian teaching of the Fourth Gospel."

Before passing on to the second section of the book a word may be said about Professor Dodd's suggestion concerning the nature of the audience for which the Fourth Gospel was intended. First, the question presents itself whether at this stage of the Church's history a Christian writer would have addressed himself on such a subject as the inner meaning of the Incarnation to any audience but a Christian one. The age of the Apologists had hardly arrived, unless we are to consider this treatise as its precursor. The Epistle to the Hebrews most nearly resembles the Fourth Gospel in its general character and approach, but it has never been suggested that this splendid treatise on the Person and work of Christ was addressed to intelligent pagans. Secondly, we have a group of early documents addressed to Christian circles in Asia Minor: there is the Pauline letter to Colosse, the Johannine letters, the letters to the Seven Churches in Asia with the attached Apocalypse, and the Ignatian letters; Ephesians cannot be included owing to the uncertainty concerning its address. It is difficult to see in these writings traces of any friendly attitude towards the climate of thought which Professor Dodd finds characteristic of the Hermetica. He has alluded to the magical associations of that literature, and it might be thought that the attitude of the Asian Christian communities would be rather that suggested by Acts xix, 18-20. Nevertheless, whatever may be thought about the circle for which the Gospel was intended, the close resemblances of thought and expression which Professor Dodd has collected are extremely striking, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the author of the Gospel was sensitive to and influenced by the atmosphere represented by this remarkable literature, though his fundamental divergence from it is clear.

The second section of the book deals with "the leading religious concepts employed in the Fourth Gospel, and will aim at defining their meaning in the context already indicated, which is assumed to be that of the readers to whom the work was originally addressed." The themes which Professor Dodd proceeds to expound, placing them in the *sitz im leben* implied in the first section, are Symbolism, Eternal life, Knowledge of God, Truth, Faith, Union with God, Light, Glory, Judgement, Spirit, and the four titles applied to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, viz., Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, and Logos. There are two themes the fuller discussion of which would have been welcome. The first is the Kingdom of God, which, as the author points out, only occurs in the dialogue with Nicodemus. Nevertheless, to my mind, it remains as fundamental in the thought of the Fourth Gospel as it is in the Synoptics. The second is the term κόσμος which is so prominent in this Gospel. But it is somewhat ungracious to ask for more when we have been given so much, and this section is so rich, that it is hard to say which of the themes treated receives the greatest illumination. The treatment of symbolism is particularly valuable, and the closing sentences of that section raise such important issues that they should be quoted in full: "I conclude that the events narrated in the Fourth Gospel are intended to be understood as significant events, σημεῖα. In several cases a clue to their significance is supplied in the accompanying discourses. In other cases we are required to interpret them in accordance with the evangelist's known methods and conceptions. To a writer with the philosophical presuppositions of the evangelist there is no reason why a narrative should not be at the same time factually true and symbolic of a deeper truth, since things and events in this world derive what reality they possess from the eternal Ideas they embody.

"Thus the very nature of the symbolism employed by the evangelist reflects his fundamental *Weltanschauung*. He wrote in terms of a world in which phenomena—things and events—are a living and moving image of the eternal, and not a veil of illusion to hide it, a world in which the Word is made flesh. In the light of this, we proceed to the attempt to define as precisely as may be the leading ideas of the gospel, having before us the book as a whole, narrative and discourse, bound together by an intricate network of symbolism." (p. 142f.) Here the author makes clear the lines on which he approaches the much debated question of the historicity of the Fourth Gospel. With regard to the stock of images upon which the symbolism of the gospel rests, it is interesting to observe that while the images or symbols discussed in this section are used in the Hermetic literature, in Philo, and by Gnostic writers, they are all ultimately derived from the Old Testament. It was in the course of the unfolding of God's ways with Israel that such images as light, water, wine, fire, king, shepherd, vine, and many others, became charged with living meaning. We can see them undergoing transformation as the history develops, until their final transformation in Christ; and in the Fourth Gospel that final transformation finds its climax and completion. The parallels assembled by Professor Dodd with such wealth of learning are profoundly interesting, principally, as he himself says, by way of contrast; but they played no part in the living development of which we have spoken. All Philo's laborious allegorization only serves to show the truth of Paul's words: "But unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a veil lieth upon their heart," and Paul had probably read his Philo.

In this connection, while the subject of symbolism is under discussion, it may be remarked that among the Johannine books there is one, the Apocalypse, which gathers up in its disturbing patterns the whole range of Old Testament symbolism from Genesis to Malachi. Critical orthodoxy has long rejected the idea that the author of the Apocalypse could also have been the author of the Fourth Gospel; on p. 209 Professor Dodd says of the Apocalypse that it is "a writing ironically enough attributed to the author of this gospel." But one may also see a certain irony in the fact that there is a recent tendency to find a deep-seated relationship existing between the nature and use of images in these two books, and on the basis of this relationship to put forward again the long-rejected belief in the identity of authorship for the two books. In the third section of his book, Professor Dodd has demonstrated most convincingly the seven-fold pattern of what he appositely calls "the Book of Signs", together with the rich significance of its symbolism. It is a possibility not to be rejected out of hand that, underlying the apparent crudity of the Apocalypse, a similar seven-fold structure of contemporary history, seen from above, culminates in the triumph of "the Word of God" (Apoc. xix, 13). A book whose character and structure are so obviously symbolic surely asks to be interpreted symbolically and not literally. The relevance of this digression lies in the fact that Professor Dodd is generally held to be the protagonist of that exposition of Christian eschatology known as "realized eschatology." In this book (p. 447) he describes the term as "not altogether felicitous", but by whatever name it may be called, it remains true that his exposition of it has rendered a great service to the interpretation of the eschatology of the gospels. In this connection he says: (p. 446f.) "I have elsewhere argued that the early recrudescence in the Church of an over-emphasis on eschatological expectations for the future has in many places tended to overshadow the element of 'realized eschatology' in the ministry, teaching, passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. John it appears, drew upon a tradition in which this tradition had at any rate not gone far. His formula ρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, with the emphasis on the νῦν ἐστιν, without excluding the element of futurity, is, I believe, not merely an acute theological definition, but is essentially historical, and probably represents the authentic teaching of Jesus as veraciously as any formula could." Elsewhere, in his book *History and the Gospel* (p. 170), Professor Dodd has said: "It is significant that Christianity separated off from the general expectation of Jewish eschatology this concrete, historical element of 'realized eschatology', leaving the residue as a symbolical expression of the relation of *all* history to the purpose of God. The value of this point of view has been fully recognized, even by its critics, and not least by Professor Mascall in his book *Christ, the Christian, and the Church* (pp. 101-108). The subject cannot be pursued further here, but it may be remarked that there is ground for the view that the author of the Fourth Gospel, while emphasizing the νῦν ἐστιν in his gospel, has expounded with similar symbolical patterns the ἔρχεται ὥρα in the Apocalypse.

Coming now to the third section, dealing with the argument and structure of the Gospel, we reach what is the climax of the book. Here, I think, Professor Dodd rises to heights of inspired exposition beyond anything he has yet written. After reading the first two sections of the book one is impressed by the author's deep and sound scholarship, but after reading the third section one is left with a renewed sense of the grandeur and majesty of the Fourth Gospel, and of its inexhaustible depth. The structure of the gospel as analysed by Professor Dodd is tripartite, consisting of the Proem, c.i., the Book of Signs, cc. ii-xii, and the Book of the Passion, cc. xiii-xx, c. xxi being regarded as an appendix or postscript, falling outside the design of the book as a whole. Readers will probably be most struck and most enlightened by the exposition of the pattern of the Book of Signs. This is found to divide itself into seven episodes, each consisting of one or more narratives of significant acts of Jesus, accompanied by one or more discourses designed to bring out the significance of the narratives. If I may be permitted to speak of personal experience, I was, some years ago, reading the Fourth Gospel under the shadow of a haystack, when it was borne in upon me like a revelation that the pattern of the gospel consisted of seven great significant signs, and that the intervening discourses were intended to supply a series of commentaries on the signs. Although my arrangement of the signs did not correspond exactly with Professor Dodd's, yet the principle of approach was the same, and hence it is with great delight that I welcome his masterly exposition of that principle, which is, I am convinced, the key which unlocks the secret of the evangelist's purpose in writing his gospel. One especially encouraging feature of this approach is its demonstration of the essential unity of the gospel, rendering unnecessary the various elaborate attempts at re-arrangement.

Professor Dodd's defence of the present position of the much debated closing sentence of c. xiv is particularly satisfying. He adopts the same approach in his analysis of the Book of the Passion, proving that it is "constructed on a pattern broadly similar to that of each individual episode of the Book of Signs." Anticipating the objection that here the discourses precede the narrative, he points out that "the Farewell Discourses presuppose the Passion to such an extent that they may be said to be logically subsequent to the Passion-narrative; but to have placed them after this narrative would have wrecked the dramatic pattern of the gospel."

But it must not be thought that the attention of the reader has been directed to the pattern of the gospel at the expense of its content; far otherwise: the clarification of the pattern has only served to illuminate more intensely the meaning of the gospel. This is nowhere more apparent than in the exposition of the Farewell Discourses. This may be best illustrated by a quotation from the profoundly moving exposition of c. xvii. After recalling the key-phrases of the prayer, the author goes on to say: "In such words we apprehend the spiritual and ethical reality of that ἀνάβασις or ὕψωσις of the Son of Man which is hereafter to be enacted in historical reality on the cross. This is what is ultimately meant by the words, 'I am going to the Father . . . that where I am you may be also.' Christ's 'journeying' to the Father is neither a physical movement in space, such as a bodily ascension to heaven, nor is it the physical act of dying. It is that spiritual ascent to God which is the inward reality of all true prayer. And this ascent in prayer carries with it all those who are included in the intercession which is, again, inseparable from all true prayer. In thus praying, Christ both accomplishes the self-oblation of which His death is the historical expression and 'draws' all men after Him into the sphere of eternal life which is union with God: first, the faithful group of His personal disciples, and then all who are to believe in Him to the end of time . . . . This is the climax towards which everything has been moving from the moment when Christ, in full consciousness of His unique relation to the Father, washed His disciples' feet that they might have part in Him. It is also the climax of the thought of the whole gospel." (p. 419f.). During the greater part of this section we have heard nothing about the Hermetic literature, but after this climax it reappears in order that the author may be able to define what distinguishes the Fourth Gospel from all such Hellenistic teaching. He proceeds to point out first that, while in the Hermetic tractates the dialogue is a secret colloquy between the individual and his initiator, in the Fourth Gospel the whole process of initiation takes place within a body of "friends" of Jesus; secondly, that knowledge of God, or union with God, which is eternal life is here interpreted in personal and ethical terms as ἀγάπη; lastly, the knowledge of God which is life eternal is mediated by an historical transaction.

In closing the discussion of the Passion-narrative, Professor Dodd draws a moving distinction between the other signs and the Passion which is the great σημεῖον "Here is something that happened in time, with eternal consequence. Though individual men may miss its significance, nevertheless the thing has happened and history is different: the whole setting of human life in this world is different. It is an "epoch-making" event; in history, things can never be the same again. But more: in it the two orders of reality, the temporal and the eternal, are united; the Word is made flesh. It is an event in both worlds; or rather, in that one world, of spirit and of flesh, which is the true environment of man, though he may fail to be aware of its two-fold nature. Thus the cross is a sign, but a sign which is also the thing signified. The preliminary signs set forth so amply in the gospel are not only temporal signs of an eternal reality; they are also signs of this Event, in its two-fold character as word and as flesh. They are true—spiritually, eternally true—only upon the condition that this Event is true, both temporally (or historically) and spiritually or eternally." (p. 439).

The book closes with an appendix on the historical aspect of the Fourth Gospel. This is full of fascinating suggestions which make one hope that Professor Dodd himself will give us another book on the problems which it raises. While he has said enough to make his position clear on the question of the historicity of the Fourth Gospel, yet some points remain obscure. The relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics calls for fuller discussion than was possible in the compass of eight pages. Professor Dodd indicates his general attitude to this question by saying that the gospel as a whole is consistent with an independent rendering of tradition, parallel with Mark's, and with the non-Marcan tradition which forms the main basis of the Lucan Passion-narrative. He is evidently in general agreement with Professor Gardner-Smith's views concerning the use of the Synoptic gospels by the author of the Fourth Gospel. This would seem to imply that the numerous and not unimportant differences between the narratives in that gospel and their parallels in the Synoptic gospels can, in the main, be explained by a variant oral tradition. I am not prepared to accept this without much fuller examination. Professor Dodd's final words seem to acknowledge the necessity for this. But the more difficult question remains whether the author of the gospel regarded all the episodes which he has related, not only as symbolic of certain aspects of the activity of the incarnate Word, but also as events which happened in time and space. It is clear, of course, that for him the life, death and resurrection of the Lord are events in history; but, to take an example, did he offer the story of the water changed into wine as historical in the same sense, or as a purely symbolic story, such as the prophets had told from time to time, a σημεῖον manifesting forth the glory of the Word incarnate? For Professor Dodd the rending of the veil of the Temple is symbolic, but he is prepared to accept, though cautiously, the darkness as factual. I cannot help feeling strongly that the author of the gospel was soaked in the Synoptic gospels, so that while he does not use them as literary sources in the strict sense, yet he feels free to use incidents and sayings to serve as material for narratives shaped to his symbolic purposes. I gather that Professor Dodd does not hesitate to treat the discourses with their mingled monologue and dialogue pattern as the product of the author's inspired prophetic activity; why then should we not be permitted to regard much of the narrative material as the result of the same activity?

This review of a truly great book may well close with a quotation which seems to comprehend in brief the whole purpose of the book, and with another from a modern poet which provides a fitting commentary on it. First, "In particular, since in Jesus Christ the eternal Word was made flesh, everything He did, or said, or suffered must be scrutinized for inner meanings." (p. 434). The other is from T. S. Eliot's *The Dry Salvages* :

"Men's curiosity searches past and future
And clings to that dimension. But to apprehend
The point of intersection of the timeless
With time, is an occupation for the saint—

No occupation either, but something given
And taken, in a lifetime's death in love,
Ardour and selflessness and self-surrender."

S. H. HOOKE.

Postscript. On p. 433, n. I, Professor Dodd has discussed the question of the difficult reading in x, 29, and dismisses both the alternative explanations of it. May a third possibility be suggested, namely, that ὃ δέδωκέν μοι can be understood in the sense of Mt. xi, 27 , πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ π. κ.τ.λ.? If we take that to mean that Jesus accepts as from the Father the whole situation of Mt. xi, with all its frustration and compensation, then the reading in question might mean that the Father‘s purpose and its consequences, entrusted to and accepted by the Son, over-ride all other considerations, and will ensure the eternal safety of those committed to him. This would seem to be both Johannine and appropriate. But Professor Dodd is probably right in rejecting in this case the *ardua lectio.*

The Church and Marriage

By ARTHUR T. MACMILLAN

Marriage and divorce, like the poor, are always with us, but recently they have figured rather more prominently than usual. Mrs. Eirene' White's Bill to enlarge the grounds of divorce, which was read a second time in the House of Commons in March, 1951, and which led to the appointment of the Royal Commission now sitting, together with the public sittings of that Commission in the summer of last year, brought the subject into public prominence, which is likely to be revived when the Royal Commission publish their Report. Further—a matter of more limited interest to Church people—the Archbishops' Nullity Commission's Report is likely to be published before very long.

In an age impatient of examining first principles and woefully ignorant of the basis of the Church's teaching and practice, it is important that attention should sometimes be directed to the fundamental problem—the true nature of men and women and of that union between them called "marriage"—because it is only on the basis of its correct solution that any effective remedy can be found for the admitted evils arising from broken marriages.

One of the latest contributions in this field comes from the Vicar of Humberstowe, Lincolnshire,[1] and no one will question his statement that "upon the correct answering of that question (what is marriage) depend some of the most pressing sociological problems of the hour."[2]

The central portion of this book—divided into Part I, "The Church and Marriage," and Part II, "The State and Marriage"—is concerned first to trace and investigate the gradual divergence which has taken place since the Reformation between the civil (i.e. secular) law of England on marriage and the pre-Reformation concept of marriage, and secondly to seek to establish that the Church of England has continued to hold, and still holds that concept which she received from pre-Reformation Western Christendom, viz. that "marriage is a status created by the voluntary union between a man and a woman who are capable of such union, subject to the laws hich have at different times been enforced to ensure due publicity or its creation, which can only be terminated by the death of one f the parties.” (p. 179). In passing it may be noticed that the roviso introduced by the words “subject to the laws” was not part f that concept she had received from pre-Reformation Western hristendom; it had not then at all been agreed that even the hurch, let alone any secular power could impose obligatory forms f creating marriage as a condition of its validity.

A short Introduction, setting out, *inter alia,* what the author onceives to be the present English legal view of marriage, of which ter, precedes the central portion, and at the end there follow, by ay of “Conclusions,” certain suggestions as to how the Church f England could more effectively bear witness to her doctrine in a orld largely pagan.

Inasmuch as until 1836 no legal provision existed for the cele-ration of marriage elsewhere than in church, and that until 1857 he Ecclesiastical Courts had exclusive jurisdiction in matrimonial uits, this division of the book’s central portion inevitably involves certain amount of overlapping, but the author has skilfully avoided ny serious duplication. In these two parts a great deal of important istorical information is collected into a reasonably short space: he third and fourth chapters of Part I, on the Reformatio Legum cclesiasticarum and on the English Canonists (Edmund Gibson, ichard Burn and John Ayliffe) are particularly good. Part II, ith its three chapters on Private Parliamentary Bills of Divorce, ivil Registration, and the Modern Remedy (i.e. the Divorce Acts 857 and 1937) gives a reasonably accurate and comprehensive icture of the gradual change in the secular law of England on both he formation and the dissolution of marriage. In his first object he author is most successful. When, however, we come to his econd purpose, of establishing that the Church of England has, ince the Reformation, continued to hold, and still holds the ndissolubilist doctrine of marriage, the author’s conclusions seem o be highly questionable on historical grounds.

The problem of marriage and whether divorce, with right of emarriage, was or was not allowed by Christ’s teaching, and if so n what grounds, was widely canvassed during the seventeenth entury, and many distinguished divines can be found writing in support of both the indissolubilist and the dissolubilist views. It is true that the latter were almost unanimous in restricting the ground to adultery and the right of remarriage to the innocent party.[3] But in the eighteenth century these questions, which had figured prominently, almost wholly disappeared from theological controversy, and the indissolubilist position disappeared almost entirely from the Church of England. It was this century that saw the growth of an extreme Erastianism,[4] and the sacramental view of marriage gradually gave place—even among church people—to one which was predominantly legal and contractual: it is also very probable that the non-Juror schism lost to the Church many who might have taken a more definite stand.

It was, too, at about the beginning of this century that private Divorce Acts came to be granted as of right, and it is significant that the records of the House of Lords show no attempt by any Bishop either to prevent a Divorce Act passing—on the ground that marriage is by Divine law indissoluble; or to include any provision prohibiting the remarriage of the guilty party, whether generally or with his partner in guilt;[5] or to exempt incumbents from the duty of celebrating in church the remarriage of either party.[6] This fact was used in argument by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cranworth) in resisting the Bishop of Oxford's amendment exempting the clergy from liability to censure for refusing to perform the marriage service after divorce.[7]

As regards the debates on the 1857 Bill, careful reading of the Reports shows that the majority of the Bishops believed firmly that Christ's teaching allows divorce for adultery, and remarriage to the innocent spouse, and further that they disliked the provisions which allowed the guilty spouse to remarry, particularly with his (or her) partner in adultery. It is interesting to notice that in the Committee stage the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner) who had voted for the second reading, got passed, by 53 votes to 47, an amendment restricting the right to remarry to the innocent spouse: 14 bishops (including the Archbishop) voted for this amendment, only 2 (London and Kilmore) against. This amendment was thrown out on Report, but on the third reading, of the 14 who had supported the amendment only 5, among whom the Archbishop did not figure voted against the Bill. What signally emphasises that the strong jection to having to allow the remarriage of the guilty spouse was sed, not on the continued existence of the dissolved marriage, t on the sin of adultery which caused the dissolution, is that Sec- n 57 of the 1857 Act allows a clergyman to refuse to solemnize e marriage of a person divorced for adultery *during the whole of at person's life,* and not, as in the 1937 Act, only during the life- me of the other spouse. The Petition of the clergy against the 57 Bill—referred to on p. 103—was most carefully drafted so as t to condemn the remarriage of the innocent spouse: it reads remembering also, that it is declared in the Word of God, that arriage with a divorced woman is adulterous. . . .”

It is perfectly true, and very properly emphasised by Mr. Haw, at both the Canons of the Church, particularly Canon 107, and e Book of Common Prayer, seem, on their natural construction, tirely incompatible with the view that marriage is capable of issolution except by death—a view with which the present writer lly agrees. On the other hand it must be acknowledged that this ew has neither been in the past, nor is now by any means uni- ersally accepted. Apart from the Bishops' speeches in the House Lords in 1857, the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) in a debate in onvocation in 1865, drew a distinction between the law of the hurch which, as expressed in her Canons, had excluded divorce, d the doctrine of the Church which had never been that to dis- lve a marriage was in every case contrary to the law of God.[8] nd as regards the Prayer Book, Archbishop Frederick Temple, riting in 1899, stated “The Book of Common Prayer does not onounce marriage indissoluble. It declares that whom God hath ined together no man may put asunder. Our Lord's exception the case of adultery shows that a divorce in such a case is not an's doing but the Lord's.”[9] This, we think, clearly represents e majority opinion of the time, and also a very substantial opinion -day.

In any case, even though the Church's official formularies were early stated, it would not follow that the doctrine therein con- ined would be universally either believed or taught. We think at Mr. Haw's remark (on p. 58) “An impartial judge might be rgiven for assuming that the Church, like any other corporation, eans what it says in its authoritatively sanctioned statements,” is singularly naive. It is surely more true "that the Church of England is far from sharing the uncharitable judgement of the Church of Rome, that two contradictory propositions cannot both be true."

Of the last part of his book, "Conclusions," an important section is that in which the author argues that the law should be changed so as to allow incumbents to insist, as a condition of celebrating a marriage, that the parties submit to a course of instruction to be prescribed by the bishop. No Christian can doubt the pressing need for the instruction of the youth of the country, not only on marriage but on the true nature of the Christian life in all its aspects. What Mr. Haw does not tell us—and it is important—is what he would suggest should be the attitude of the Church to those couples who, if his proposals became law, refused to attend for instruction and went and got married in a Register Office. Should they be regarded as truly married, and should they be admitted to the sacraments, particularly to the Holy Communion?

In this part of his book the author severely criticises the proposed Canon XXXVI(2), and generally the suggestion that Church tribunals be revived. His criticism of the proposed Canon is based on a very serious misconstruction of it: as drafted the only grounds of nullity relevant to be considered by the bishop would be the grounds of nullity existing by the secular law of that country which had dissolved the marriage. This might or might not be England, and the true grounds of criticism of the Draft Canon are that it is wholly Erastian and would be quite arbitrary in its application.[11]

On the larger question of the need of a Church tribunal to investigate the canonical quality of marriages dissolved by the secular courts, the author's pastoral experiences must be very different from that of many hundreds of his fellow clergy.[12]

Further, on p. 207, the author falls into the fallacy of treating nullity suits as if they were divorce suits, and forgetting that in the former it is the fact of marriage, not the conduct of the parties which is in issue. This distinction is most clearly explained in Lacey, *Marriage in Church and State,* 2nd Ed. p. 200.

It is impossible to pass from his book without noticing that the author has, chiefly in the Introduction, fallen into the usual trap of completely misunderstanding, and misconstruing the famous case of Hyde v. Hyde & Woodmansee.[13] In that case a suit for divorce was brought by a "husband" on the ground of his "wife's" adultery. The marriage had taken place in Utah, and by the law of Utah was potentially polygynous. Lord Penzance decided that because of that fact the Petitioner was not a "husband," nor the Respondent a "wife" as those words are used in the Divorce Act, 1857, and accordingly he dismissed the petition. That was all he decided, and was most careful to state that that was all he had decided, viz. that the remedies given by the Divorce Act are available only to those couples united in what is generally regarded as marriage in Christendom. To suggest that Lord Penzance was saying that the only marriages which English law recognizes are indissoluble marriages is not only to ignore the careful limit he himself set to the scope of his decision, but is to attribute to him the Gilbertian proposition that the only marriages which the Divorce Court can dissolve are indissoluble marriages.[14] Also it is bad law to assert, as is done on p. 6, that "every marriage valid by English law is presumed to be undertaken on the mutual understanding that it must endure until the death of one of the parties," if by that he meant that where the presumption can be rebutted, no marriage results. The case of Brodie v. Brodie, L.R. 1917, Probate 217, which decided that a valid marriage subsisted although a definite agreement under seal had been made the day before the ceremony, and confirmed by a signed document immediately after the ceremony, excluding all right and duty of consortium, and although the parties had never cohabited, seems to show clearly that all that English law now requires is the mere recitation of the appropriate words before a minister of religion or a Registrar.[15]

In spite of the above criticisms, this book is a timely and useful one, bringing together much valuable historical information, and among other things it shows clearly that, although many divines of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed that Christ had allowed divorce for the one specific ground, those views are far removed from what appears to be the teaching of some of the more modern churchmen.

Two unfortunate misprints should be corrected in any reprint: on page 198 the name of the third dissentient from the proposed Canon XXXVI(2) was Dr. E. F. Jacob, not Dr. E. F. Fraser, and the reference to Marshall v. Graham, on page 12, should be 1907, 2 K.B. 112.

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[1] Reginald Haw: The State of Matrimony, S.P.C.K. 1952.

[2] *Op. cit.* Preface, p. 10.

[3] A few writers admitted wilful desertion as a ground, e.g., Andrew Willett (1562-1621) and Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Bishop of Exeter and later of Norwich. The former would allow remarriage to the guilty party after due punishment, but only if the innocent party had remarried.

[4] The Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) said in the House of Lords. "He believed it was true that the Church of England did not contemplate the dissolution of marriage, but the Church of England was ready to obey the statute law of the realm". Parl. Reps. 3rd Series, Vol. 145, Col. 916. Also the Attorney General (Sir Richard Bethell) said "The true union of Church and State in this country was produced by this, that the Church was subordinate to and was upheld by the common law of the land in like manner as every other body and institution was". Parl. Reps. Vol. 147, Col. 732. This statement provoked no adverse comment.

[5] Under a Standing Order of the House of Lords made in 1809, every Divorce Bill, when presented, had to contain a clause to this effect, which was always struck out in Committee.

[6] It must be remembered that, between 1754 and 1836, all marriages except between Quakers or between Jews, had to be celebrated in church, so there can be no question that the Church did, in fact, remarry both parties.

[7] Parl. Reps. 3rd Series, Vol. 145, Col. 912.

[8] Chronicle of Canterbury Convocation, Feb. 1865, pp. 1,897, 1,911.

[9] Memoirs of Frederick Temple, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1906, Vol. II, p. 293.

[10] Church Quarterly Review, Vol. CXLVII, p. 205.

[11] See present writer's article on this in *Theology*, Vol LI, p. 170.

[12] See also on this the evidence given by the Bishop of London to the Royal Commission, Minutes of Evidence, Day 6, p. 148, Q. 1171.

[13] Law Reports, 1 P. & D. p. 130.

[14] For accurate and careful explanation of Hyde v. Hyde, see judgment of Lord Greene, M.R. in Baindail v. Baindail, 1946, P. 122 at p. 127.

[15] See also Salvesen v. Administrator of Austrian Property, L.R. 1927, A.C. 641, in which Lord Haldane said, "After 1857 the indissoluble character of an English marriage disappeared, and the effect of this disappearance is noticeable in the later decisions".

Old Testament Mysticism

By CUTHBERT LATTEY

PARTLY, I suppose, owing to the difficulties felt in arriving at agreed and objective conclusions in matters concerned with religious truth, there has been an increasing tendency in our own time—in itself no new tendency—to lay more stress upon religious experience, sometimes even without the further purpose of arriving through the subjective experience at objective truth, to which however a valid experience should always be held to point. Unless this be done, the experience must be recognized as no less worthless in itself than any other line of approach. The late Dr. Wheeler Robinson, whose memory I cherish as that of a friend and a great biblical scholar—it was he and Dr. D. C. Simpson, who likewise did much for the cause in the old days, who brought me into the Society for Old Testament Study—once wrote:

> Men may believe or may disbelieve that God of old time spoke unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, but what we cannot do is to establish the claim of the prophets on something wholly external to their own activity, whether on a psychical event within or a physical event without. In the last resort, it will be the intrinsic truth of the prophetic utterance, undivorced from its environment, which must establish its authority.[1]

The "psychical event" must presumably be taken to mean, at all events as a general rule, the prophets' own mystical experience, and the "physical event" a miracle. Such sweeping scepticism must extend the sphere of human ignorance, for it is far from obvious by what other means the mind can arrive in such matters at "intrinsic truth," or indeed what precisely is meant by the terms themselves, "intrinsic truth." If the demand be made that the mere consideration of subject and predicate, the mere analysis of the terms themselves, should lead us to a full certainty of the whole assertion, if no criterion of objective truth other than this be allowed, evidently the field of human knowledge will be narrowed o an extent that will make progress difficult in matters biblical, and (it would seem) in some other matters as well.

It may seem to be going too far, thus to press the meaning of the terms to their extreme limit, but in matters of this complexity it does seem necessary to be more careful than usual to say plainly what is meant and to mean what is said. As for "the physical event without," I do not propose to treat here of it. Upon the whole, it does not appear to have the same significance for the Old Testament as in the New, for the denial of miracles as such utterly undermines the historical value of the four gospels. But "the psychical event" is not so easily thrust out of sight. It is as essential to the Old Testament as miracles are to the New, though the Old has "physical events" of its own, just as the New has its "pyschical events." But whereas the "physical event" meets with a very unfavourable reception, the reception of the "psychical event," on the other hand, is more sympathetic: perhaps, indeed, rather too sympathetic to be wholly wise. In any case it cannot be left out in any serious study of Holy Writ—to confine myself to that in my main treatment. It is the spirit which quickeneth, in biblical as in all other history, and to omit the consideration of it is to leave history no more than dead men's bones.

Mysticism evidently has its place amid "psychical events," and likewise amid biblical events, in which it plays a part of the gravest importance, such as obviously calls for careful consideration. To speak of the "insight" of the prophets, for example, is to burke the whole issue, and the prophets themselves would have been the first to protest strongly against the idea that their words found an adequate explanation in the subjective workings of their own minds. I have written elsewhere more than once upon the subject of prophecy—and indeed read a paper upon the subject some time back to the Society for Old Testament Study itself, which is ever ready to accord a friendly reception to such efforts—and I need only claim here that the Old Testament conception of prophecy involves two essential features, namely, a revelation to the prophet, and a mission (or commission, if the term be preferred) to communicate that revelation to another or to others, to a definite or indefinite group. In the Old Testament, prophecy is of course directed chiefly to Israel, Jehovah's chosen people.

The present time appears to offer a favourable moment for the consideration of prophecy, because of the greater interest now attaching to mysticism. Not that this greater interest can be regarded as an unmitigated blessing; there is always a danger that the curious or ambitious may be fascinated by the hope of mystical experience, or of a dark night of the soul, before they have learnt the first elements of the spiritual life, and thus do themselves more harm than good. But for one who is primarily an Old Testament scholar the peril is not grave, and the main purpose of this paper is o submit that in dealing with Old Testament mysticism, and more especially with the Old Testament prophets and prophecy, he should embrace within his survey the assured results of later times, that is o say, of the New Testament period and of the Christian experiences that have followed upon it. These two epochs, I venture to say, offer the most valuable parallels to the Old Testament phenomena, and the post-biblical experiences, upon the whole, are more valuable, as easier to investigate and understand, than those of the New Testament. Who can fathom, with any close accuracy, the workings of the soul of Christ? And of the lesser figures of the New Testament, from this precise point of view, we know very little. It is from St. Paul, who pours himself out so freely in his epistles, that we can gather most light, though, like so many mystics, he feels himself incapable of setting forth adequately what has been communicated to him in the way of "utterances unutterable" (II. Cor. xii, 4).

The translations and studies of Spanish mystics by Allison Peers, the late Gilmour Professor of Spanish at Liverpool University, are too well known to call for long notice, and have had a wide influence. In the sixteenth century there was an unparalleled outburst of sanctity and mysticism in Spain, including the Carmelite reformers St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, the Franciscan St. Peter of Alcantara, St. Ignatius of Loyola the founder and St. Francis Borgia the third general of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), and the secular priest Blessed John of Avila, a friend and helper of St. Ignatius. Of these the most important for my own purpose (and most would say, I suppose, from any point of view) is St. Teresa, not merely because of the greatness of her experiences, but also because of her wonderful power of describing them. Professor Allison Peers has translated and edited her complete works from the critical edition of the Spanish Carmelite, Father Silverio de Santa Teresa, and it is to be hoped that these and other such writings will not be disregarded in the study of Old Testament prophecy. and even of similar phenomena in the New Testament, which however are not of such crucial importance for estimating aright the spiritual significance of the trend of the events. I venture to mention also what I think I may by now call, more than any other, the standard modern work on mysticism, *Des Grâces d'Oraison, traité de théologie mystique*, by Père A. Poulain, S.J., published by Beauchesne of Paris, of which several editions and thousands of copies have been sold, besides translations into English (*The Graces of Interior Prayer*, Kegan Paul), German, Italian and Spanish.

A greater attention to the psychic aspects of the Old Testament is now visible in Professor Pedersen's important work, *Israel, its Life and Culture*, of which the English translation is published by the Oxford University Press. Indeed, his emphasis upon these aspects is sometimes so strong that one is left wondering whether it be his aim to set forth objective fact, or the general beliefs which formed part of the life and culture which he is portraying. There are a number of passages which it is difficult to interpret with confidence; it is in no controversial spirit that I quote some, but to justify the regret that the emphasis on matters psychic is not always of a helpful kind. I quote the English edition. " We are face to face with the consequence that flesh is soul, or rather that the soul may be flesh, and this in reality is the exact exposition of the Israelitic manner of thinking . . . flesh is only a weak form of soul " (vol. I-II, p. 176). " It is to be understood quite literally that the name is the soul " (p. 245). " The soul is wholly in it " (*i.e.* in the name: p. 252). " Body and soul are, as we know, only two terms for the same thing " (p. 268). " Both (*i.e.* chief and prophet) experienced that expansion of psychic power which meant that they were filled with the divine soul. . . The experience aimed at was the ecstasy, in which the divine soul passed in and the self disappeared " (vol. III-IV, pp. 107-8). In view of these strong expressions of identification it is a relief to find a clear statement that " the prophets always distinguish between what their own heart says, and what the divine spirit says through them " (p. 112); and a greater relief still to read that " the words and actions of the prophets show that their experiences were closely related to those undergone and described by many mystics " (p. 117). It would have been a valuable contribution to the subject to have had this last assertion worked out in detail; but it is much to have the continuity in the experiences definitely recognized.

In the experiences themselves there are two distinct manifestations to be recognized, which are not always found together: mystical ecstasy, and prophecy strictly so called. The latter has always been in itself the more important, because containing a divine message, with a definite mission to the prophet to convey it to the intended recipient or recipients. In the Old Testament it is indicated in Deut. xviii, 18-22 as a normal feature of the theocracy; the chief business of the priests is the liturgy, but from this passage and others it is clear that the prophets are to be the chief guides in faith and morale, and even in other matters, such as foreign policy, witness Isaiah and Jeremiah. We do not find that an ecstasy was a necessary accompaniment to a divine revelation; of Abraham Heschel's work, however, *Die Prophetie,* it was justly observed in the 1937 Book List of the Society for Old Testament Study that there was an "insufficient recognition of the ecstatic element" (p. 13). I have already touched on this ecstatic element with reference to St. Paul's words in II Cor. xii, 4: Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel all have their ecstasies, especially the last mentioned. On the other hand a prophet may receive a revelation without any ecstasy: examples may be found in the last seven chapters of I Kings.

It is indeed surprising to find what a sharp division Professor Lindblom in an article in the *Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*[2] tries to establish between the religion of the mystics and that of the prophets. Mysticism, he claims, is a religion of immanence, of introspective piety, of introverted meditation (p. 66), of mystical union (p. 74). The prophet, on the other hand, looks outward, not inward (p. 66): he draws upon nature and history (p. 71), upon the Bible (p. 66).

I have referred already to the Spanish mystics of the sixteenth century: what strikes one with surprise is the very active and fruitful work which St. Teresa, for example, carried out in the Church, or again, to take other periods, St. Catherine of Siena or St. Francis of Assisi. One might indeed claim that the greatest mystics have been also the greatest prophets (if I may extend the term a little) in the history of the Church. It is true, of course, that there have been many pure contemplatives in the Church; but history doe not show that a contemplative cannot be a prophet. To say wit Professor Lindblom that prophetic ecstasies tell us nothing abou the prophet's religion (p. 66) is surely going too far: ecstasies wer not essential, but in actual fact might be fundamental. Professo Puukko, indeed, in an earlier number of the *Zeitschrift fur di Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*[3] lays it down that the older Israelit prophets were themselves ecstatics or were closely related to such.

It must be borne in mind that the mystical union as such wa not immediately relevant to their prophetic mission; even thoug they might be granted it and accept it as a gift of God, they woul not regard it as their duty to lead others up to it. Though eve here we must speak with some reserve, for when we read of th "sons of the prophets" (I Kings xx, 35: II Kings ii, 3, 5, 7, 15: *etc.*) we may suspect something like a regular community, thoug the mention of "the wives of the sons of the prophets" may give u pause. In any case such a vision as that of Ezekiel's chariot (chap. i) removes any difficulty we might feel about attributing to the prophet mystical union, even though it be followed (as it is) by practical instruction: and so of Isaiah's vision in Is. vi. Moreover the prophets seem to enjoy such easy converse with God, whether initiated by God or themselves, that it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that sometimes it might become more intimate, even without any immediately practical purpose.

But a message may come straight to the mind, as from spirit to spirit. Perhaps we do not always realize how strange a thing is our mutual intercourse, that one intellect can usually communicate with another only through a complicated series of motions of breath and tongue and teeth and lips, a series so artificial that different groups of mankind use a quite different series, and are thus much limited in their intercourse, unless they go to great pains to master one or more series other than their own. But it is unlikely that such a babel fetters the spirit that is unfettered by a body.

Of revelation there appear to be three kinds: the senses may be acted upon from without, or from within, or not at all. It is not always easy to know with which kind we are dealing. It seems easier to explain the Revelation (or Apocalypse) of St. John as composed of sights external to him: and so again of the chariot of Ezekiel. But there may be an imaginative effect without external reality, as presumably in Is. vi, unless we are to suppose that only the prophet was allowed to see and hear what he relates.

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[1] *Record and Revelation*: Essays on the Old Testament by members of the Society for Old Testament Study, Oxford, 1938: pp. 315-6. Dr. Robinson himself edited the work.

[2] *Die Religion der Propheten und die Mystik*: Vol. 16 (new series: 1939): pp. 65-74.

[3] *Ekstatische Propheten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der finnisch-ugrischen Parallelen*: Vol. 12 (new series: 1935): p. 27.

THE CANON LAW

The Present State of the Revision in Convocation

By A. F. SMETHURST

THE revision of the Canon Law of the Church of England which with the exception of minor amendments to some half-doze Canons, had not been altered since the Canons of 1603-4 were passed was begun in 1948, following the publication in the previous year of the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Canon Law This Report included a complete draft of proposed new Canons and the Convocations decided to use this draft as the basis of the present revision.

The draft Canons prepared by the Commission are divided into eight sections. The first section is headed "The Church of England", and concerns the nature of the Church of England, the sources of its doctrine and worship and the form of its government and law. Consideration of this section was deferred until other sections of the draft Canons had first been discussed, and it was only carried out in May this year. Prior to this the Canon Law Steering Committee, set up by the two Convocations to advise upon the method and order of consideration of the Canons, had had the advantage of discussions with very eminent legal experts, and as a result of these discussions had recommended a verbal redraft of Canons VII and VIII and a few minor amendments in Canons I to VI. They had also decided to defer consideration of Canon IX, which sets out the classes of persons upon whom the Canon Law is binding and the sanctions to be imposed in various cases upon those who infringe it. It was felt that this Canon could not be discussed until all the other Canons had been considered, and especially until those concerning the Ecclesiastical Courts had come forward. Canon XI, which concerns Schisms and Divisions in the Church and is intended to replace the whole group of anathematizing Canons in the seventeenth century corpus, was also withdrawn, in order that it might be modified in such a way as to set out the regulations of the

Church of England concerning relations with other Christian communities.

Canons I to VIII and X in their redrafted form were accepted by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury almost without demur, save that the expression occurring in some of these Canons—that the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal and the method of government of the Church "is agreeable to the Word of God"—was amended to read "is not contrary to the Word of God" or "is not repugnant to the Word of God". This amendment is of great historical significance, inasmuch as the whole controversy between the Puritans and the Anglicans in the seventeenth century hinged upon this very point: namely, whether it was necessary that every word in the Prayer Book should be taken directly from or be provable by Holy Scripture, as the Puritans insisted, or whether it was sufficient that it could be shown that nothing in it was contrary to the Word of God, as the Anglicans maintained. The first group of Canons, with the alterations thus made, is now agreed between the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, and, with only one verbal alteration by the Convocation of York.

The second group of Canons (XII to LI) concerns Divine Service and the Administration of the Sacraments, and it was with this group that the work of revision was begun in 1948. Of the forty Canons in this group 33 have already been sent to the House of Laity for comment, after having been agreed in identical form by all four Houses of the two Convocations. Included in this number, however, are the Canons on Marriage (XXXVI—XLIII), and these were passed before the Marriage Act, 1949, and the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1950, became law. Since the former of these two Acts, in particular, is a codification and restatement of civil law on the subject of marriage, it seemed very desirable that the wording of the Marriage Canons, where these touched upon Statute Law. should, wherever appropriate, be identical with that of the new Acts. Accordingly, the Marriage Canons were redrafted, and at the same time arranged in a more logical and systematic form, with the advice of eminent legal experts, and in this new form they came before the Convocations in May this year. Both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury passed the redrafted form of these Marriage Canons with a few very minor verbal amendments, and York Convocation accepted them without any alteration.

In due course these redrafted Canons will be sent to the House of Laity in place of the former versions already sent to them.

In this second group of Canons, XII to LI, the only ones not provisionally agreed between the four Houses of the two Convocations are Canons XII and XIII, "Of Conformity to the Book of Common Prayer" and "Of Lawful Authority", and Canons XXX and XXXI, concerning Holy Baptism and Sponsors at Baptism. After a preliminary consideration further discussion of the two former of these was deferred, in order that the Archbishops' Commission on Church and State might comment upon them. In the light of their comments and favourable opinion, given in their report to the Church Assembly, the Assembly decided that the fundamental material in Canon XIII should be embodied in a Measure of the Assembly; and in due course the Convocations will take up once more the consideration of these Canons with the amendments suggested by the Assembly. The two Canons on Baptism have not yet been discussed by the Lower House of Canterbury, pending the issue of the final Report of the Joint Committee on Baptism which, as a result of several years' careful consideration, is expected to make recommendations on various vital questions concerning the subject of these Canons.

The third group of Canons (LII to LXXXIII) concerns Ministers, their Ordination, Function and Charge. Very great progress has already been made with this group of Canons. Although none of them has yet been sent to the House of Laity for comment, 21 have now been agreed by the four Houses of the two Convocations and are ready for the House of Laity as soon as that House has completed its discussion of the material already sent up to it. In fact, no real difference remains in connection with this group of Canons, except in regard to Canon LXXXII concerning the dress of Ministers, where the Convocation of York and the Lower House of Canterbury are unwilling to abandon the magnificent language of the Canon of 1603, while the Upper House of Canterbury considers this unnecessary and undesirable and wishes to substitute a shorter and more modern form. There are, however, in this group two Canons, LXV and LXVI, concerning Priests hearing confessions and the duty of Priests to preserve any secret confessed to them, which have caused a very great deal of difficulty and legal argument. Even now the solution has not been found, but it seems likely that all that can be done is to re-enact the relevant portion of Canon CXIII of 1603 with the necessary verbal alterations.

The fourth group of Canons (LXXXIV to LXXXVI) concerns Deaconesses, and though it includes only three Canons, the discussion upon it led to a theological argument between the Upper and Lower Houses of Canterbury Convocation. In May this year, however, agreement was finally reached, on the basis of a statement by the Archbishop and recommendations by the Steering Committee, and the Lower House agreed to the inclusion in Canon LXXXIV of the statement that "The Order of Deaconesses is the one Order of Ministry in the Church of England to which women are admitted by prayer and the laying-on of hands of the Bishop", which it had previously been reluctant to accept. It remains for York to accept two Canterbury amendments in Canons LXXIV and LXXXV.

The fifth group of Canons (LXXXVII to XCV) is "Of the Lay Officers of the Church of England". The Lower House of Canterbury has now agreed with the Upper House as to the form of Canons XCI—XCIV (now renumbered XCI—XCIII) concerning Readers, after a very close vote on the disputed question of whether there should be *included in the Canons* authority for the Bishop to authorize a Reader to administer the Cup at the Holy Communion in exceptional circumstances. Apart from this point of dispute, and with the exception of Canon LXXXVII concerning the Election of Churchwardens, which had to be referred to the Steering Committee for further clarification, agreement was reached without difficulty on all the other Canons in the group. Moreover, three Canons in this group are agreed by both Convocations.

The sixth group of Canons (XCVI to CXI) concerns "Things appertaining to Churches", i.e., the furnishings of churches. The Canons in this group were considered for the first time by the Lower House of Canterbury in May this year. Canons XCVI, XCVII, XCIX, C, CII, CIII, CIV, CVI and CVII have now been agreed between the two Houses, and Canons XCVIII, CI and CV have been referred to the Steering Committee for clarification, in some cases of legal points arising. The Upper House of Canterbury has also considered Canons CVIII to CX. But Canterbury Convocation have minor alterations in all these Canons, which York has not yet accepted.

The seventh group of Canons (CXII to CXXV), concernin Ecclesiastical Courts, has not been considered by either Convocation as the Archbishops have appointed a special Commission on th subject of Ecclesiastical Courts which has not yet reported. Th Convocation of York has considered the last group of Canon (CXXVI to CXXXIV) concerning the Synods, Assemblies an Conferences of the Church of England, but this has not so far bee dealt with by the Convocation of Canterbury.

From the above summary it will be seen that much has bee achieved in the course of the last five and a half years; and when i is recognized that the Convocations meet at most for only eigh days in the year, and that they have during these last five year discussed other matters of great importance, such as Churc Relations, quite apart from the Canons, there is reason to feel, a the Archbishop of Canterbury has said, that remarkably goo progress has been made. In fact, it would appear that the dela in the completion of the revised code of Canons is unlikelly to aris from Convocation, but will more probably be the resut of the inability of the House of Laity to deal with it equally quickly. By ancient right and the constitution of this Realm of England the Convocations, and they alone, have the right to prepare and enact Canons; and since the Norman Conquest the Convocations have not included any representatives of the laity. In order that the laity may not be deprived of all part in the revision of the Canons, the undertaking was given that after the two Convocations had completed preliminary discussion of each Canon it should be sent to the House of Laity of the Church Assembly for comment and advice, and this promise has been meticulously kept.

It is an open question whether some reform of the composition of the Convocations is desirable; and as a result of a resolution passed by the Church Assembly in February this year the Archbishops are setting up a Commission to consider the representation of the laity in the synods of the Church of England. So far, however, as the present revision of the Canons is concerned, when the Canons have been discussed by the House of Laity they will come back to the Convocations, which will then proceed to the task of deciding upon their final form in the light of the comments of the House of Laity.

However, before the stage of agreement upon the final form of the Canons is reached, it is necessary, under the "Act for the Submission of the Clergy", to obtain the "Royal Licence to confer and constitute Canons". What has so far taken place might rightly be considered as nothing more than a preliminary discussion, which from a legal and constitutional point of view commits nobody to anything whatever. But when the Convocations begin to draw up Canons in a form which they subsequently propose to submit for the Royal Assent, it is legally essential that they should have the Royal Licence to confer and constitute Canons, i.e., the Royal Licence to draw up Canons in this final form. Since the House of Laity has already completed its consideration of certain Canons, the stage at which the Royal Licence to confer and constitute is required has now been almost reached; and the Archbishops have therefore announced to the Convocations that at the group of sessions in October this year there will be presented for confirmation by the Convocations a form of Petition to the Crown for the Royal Licence to confer and constitute. If this Petition is agreed, and if it is granted by Her Majesty, the Convocations can then embark on the penultimate stage of their work by drawing up the final form of the Canons. When that also has been concluded, the whole corpus of Canons must go to the Crown for the "Royal Licence and Assent"; and if this second licence is granted, the Canons can then be solemnly "enacted and made" in the Convocations and thereafter "promulged" in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Before this happy conclusion is reached, however, various other procedures will have to be undertaken. Certain of the proposed new Canons involve alterations in Statute Law. In some of these cases the necessary alterations may be made by Measures of the Church Assembly which will pass through Parliament. In other cases, however, a direct Act of Parliament will be required, initiated in Parliament itself. Thus, when the final form of the Canons has been decided, some considerable time must elapse to enable these and other statutory processes to be completed before the Royal Licence and Assent can be applied for and granted. The final achievement of the new body of Canons will inevitably depend upon the goodwill of Parliament and of Her Majesty's Government and legal advisers to the work in hand; but present indications are that this goodwill exists, and with co-operation, patience, understanding and discretion on all sides, there is no reason to doubt that a satisfactory consummation will ultimately be achieved which will be to the lasting benefit of the Church of England and her order, discipline, edification, uniformity, dignity and spiritual wellbeing.

REVIEWS

A COMMENTARY ON JOB

THE BOOK OF JOB. Introduction and Commentary by ANTHONY and MIRIAM HANSON. S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d.

THESE Torch Bible Commentaries are intended for the general thoughtful eader who wishes to understand the Bible, and does not want erudite oints of scholarship or a surfeit of archaeology pushed down his throat. Nevertheless modern critical scholarship, in moderation, is taken into ccount. In this volume on Job there is no continuous text, and it is a ity that the authors have not provided their own translation, especially s they admit in their Introduction that A.V. and R.V. are not ood translations, and that Job is one of the books in the Bible which nost needs a modern one. Moffatt, whom they constantly quote, is raised, and so is the American Standard Revised Version. No mention s made of Professor W. B. Stevenson's translation in his Schweich Lectures, in which only about one-third of the Received Text, as we have t in the Old Testament, is recognized as genuine.

Thirty pages out of 118 of the book under review are devoted to an ntroduction which is divided into four sections: the structure of the ook—its legendary character, its differences in style, its interpolations nd interruptions; its theme; its link between the Old and New Testanents; its place in the Bible, its date, authorship, text, and a rief paragraph about six modern English Commentaries. Of these six hey commend Driver-Gray's volume in the International Critical Comnentary Series (Longmans) as the best edition from the point of view f solid scholarship, but surely T. & T. Clark should have the credit for ublishing this series "formidable in appearance with its array of techicalities". Other authorities are quoted but not named: for example 'One Editor" is quoted for his remark on xxvxi, 20, that "the Hebrew s nonsense, and the suggested emendations unsatisfactory" to which he Editors of this book add: "we may leave it at that". Another is eferred to as "a recent scholar" (p. 69), but no mention is made of such uthors as V. E. Reichart in the Soncino Books of the Bible, or W. F. Lofthouse in the Abingdon Bible Commentary, nor of T. K. Cheyne or M. Jastrow or Minos Devine.

As for the Commentary—it reminds one in some ways rather of Peake's, or Gore's or Lowther Clarke's One Volume Commentaries of he Bible; its notes are useful and interesting for a cursory study, but ather selective, though less so than Box on Job in the Clarendon Bible. For example, in the Hanson edition no chapter in Job has as many as our pages of commentaries, and Chapter 32 has only 15 lines. In their Commentary they pick out certain passages which are either not lucid, r are actual mistranslations in the A.V., and give alternative renderings of verses. Sometimes they recommend the R.V. and sometimes suggest (presumably) their own rendering as in xix, 20: "I am escaped with the skin in my teeth", which is not very satisfactory, though its following explanation—a paraphrase—is clear. They say the Hebrew "does not make good sense," so why not be even more obvious and say, "I am escaped toothless with only my gums left"—after all the meaning is "next to nothing". Cardinal Newman once said: "faithfulness (in translation) may be considered to consist in expressing the sense of the original", and the views of others like Luther, Thomas á Kempis, Jerome, Maimonides and many more could be quoted to corroborate this view.

Minor criticisms are that it would make reference to chapter and verse easier if the numerals at the top of the page were printed in heavier type; an index would be useful, but perhaps a luxury, and a bibliography, including ancient and Jewish, as well as Christian commentators, with more than six entries would be interesting. But the book can be commended as a useful study of "the greatest work of Hebrew literature that has come down to us, and one of the greatest poetical works of the world's literature" (G. F. Moore).

A. D. POWER

ST. PAUL

PAUL. By MARTIN DIBELIUS, edited and completed by WERNER KUMMEL. Translated by FRANK CLARKE. Longmans Green & Co. 7s. 6d. net.

A RE-ESTIMATION of the lifework of St. Paul in the light of recent scholarship is overdue, and when it comes with the authority of the late Professor Martin Dibelius whose work, unhappily broken off by his death, has been ably completed by his pupil and friend Professor Werner Kummel, its welcome is assured. Professor T. W. Manson expressed the hope that the book would be translated into English, and this has been well done by Mr. Frank Clarke.

The authors make little or no attempt to survey the field of Pauline studies, and write, in the main most interestingly, for the general reader. There is no controversial examination of conflicting theories, but between the lines of firm, perhaps too firm, conclusions a great deal may be read as to what scholars are now thinking. It is encouraging to those who have been dismayed by wild speculations on the authenticity of the Epistles, the influence of the mystery religions and of Greek philosophy, and the haze of Apocalyptic, to find the emergent picture to be still in accordance with the consensus of Christian conviction about St. Paul; that "By clearly recognizing that the Christian message was freed from any attachment to the Jewish national religion, and by concentrating the Church's message on the saving work of God in Christ which was to rule the present, Paul took the Church of Jesus Christ, which he himself had so decisively helped to create, out of the realm of national religions, and put it on firm ground;" and that "he refashioned, in the way the new experience showed to be necessary, Jesus' message of the early coming of the Kingdom of od and the heavenly Son of Man, and by doing so he preserved for the hurch the message of Jesus in its essential features". "It has been Paul's istoric work across the centuries to turn men back to the Lord into hose service he had unreservedly committed himself."

One naturally turns with curiosity to find what the writers' views re about some of the chief points of controversy. These may be briefly ummarised—Paul is influenced by the mystery religions to the extent hat he "carries over into his own life Christ's sufferings, death, and esurrection almost exactly as the member of a mystery cult copied in is ceremonies the myth of his God". Yet as a religious type Paul is ot a mystic. God is to him always transcendent,; there is no oneness etween God and man; those who receive grace are those who have aith, and not those who have been "initiated". To be "in Christ" is o be in his body the Church. He belongs to Heiler's "prophetic" type ssentially, though he often uses, of the Christian's inward experience, he language of a mystic.

As to eschatology Dibelius is inclined to Schweitzer's view that the resent situation of Christians antedates the future into the present. "The eschatological event has already begun with the resurrection and xaltation of Christ". This attitude, owing to Oscar Cullman and others, s now becoming general, with its consequent antithesis between Pauline nd Johnnine views. On critical questions it may be noted that Dibelius-ummel support the "North Galatian" view of the destination of the pistle, they discount the value of the speeches in Acts, and regard "Ephesians" as an epistle of the Pauline school, rather than of the Apostle. ibelius regards Colossians and Philemon as letters of the Caesarean mprisonment, Philippians is ascribed to an Ephesus period of imrisonment, which leaves no letters to be ascribed to a Roman imprisonent. II Thessalonians is taken as Pauline, and the Pastorals are clearly o be considered as of later date and unauthentic. The controversy between t. Paul and the Judaizers of the Jerusalem Church is of course emphaized: but the authors are at pains to show how earnestly the Apostle ought to avoid a break, and how successfully. Yet on his last visit to erusalem his enemies there were still unreconciled and the Jerusalem hurch seems to have made no effort to save the "hated missionary".

Dibelius finds St. Paul's theology to be really a theodicy. How could od reject those who were scrupulously observing the law of righteousess in favour of those who, on the fringe of Judaism, had done nothing o deserve salvation except to believe in Jesus as Messiah? Paul the ersecutor denied that God could call such people; Paul the theologian ealised after his conversion the true nature of the Church in the teaching f Jesus. "What leads men to God is not their pious deeds, but only ivine grace and human readiness to receive it." His conversion is a linding vision, in which he not only saw Jesus glorified, but also reeived certainty that the mission of the Christian Church was universal nd that he was to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. God had acted once r all in Jesus Christ. Knowledge of Jesus "in the flesh" now mattered little, and Dibelius doubts whether Paul ever had it. He became "not a Jerusalem Christian but a Hellenistic one" and began his missionary work immediately.

The account of the Missions of St. Paul is given not as "journeys" but as successive evangelistic campaigns from a number of centres—Damascus, Tarsus, Antioch, Corinth, and Ephesus. He was essentially a preacher: he left the organization of local churches mainly to others: his effort was to cover as much of a province as possible by visits from one centre before moving on: he was not by any means, as the presentation of his work in "journeys" implies, always on the move. Our perspective of his work is somewhat spoilt by St. Luke's intention of portraying a triumphant progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome.

Other matters of interest must be left for the reader's discovery. Here and there one finds assumptions which are perhaps too cordially accepted—for example the origin of St. Paul's family from Gischala in Galilee, his "schooling in Hellenistic eloquence" (p. 41) that no change in his doctrine is traceable (p. 60), that the consequence of his conversion was the adoption of the Old Testament by the Church (p. 61) that the greeting of Romans xvi are accounted for by a "flocking" of Jews to Rome after Claudius' degree of expulsion had become quickly obsolete (p. 82), the subjective view of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (p. 123), and that the Apostolic decree of the minimum requirements of Gentile Christians has probably nothing to do with the Council at Jerusalem.

This short, clear and illuminating study deserves a wide popularity.

C. B. Armstrong

THE FATHERS

Early Christian Fathers. Translated and edited by C. C. Richardson and Collaborators. The Library of Christian Classics, Volume I. S.C.M. Press. 30s.

This book is the first volume of a new series which the enterprise of the S.C.M. Press is to make available to readers. It is intended in twenty-six volumes to publish a series of extracts or entire works from the Fathers, the Scholastics and the Reformers with short notes, introductions and bibliographies. The editors have enlisted the services of well-known scholars on both sides of the Atlantic; whether they have been equally wise in announcing a projected annual rate of impression time alone will show.

This first-fruits of the venture can be unreservedly welcomed. The documents translated comprise 1 and 2 Clement, the letters of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the *Didache*, the letter to Diognetus, the first Apology of St. Justin, the *Legatio* of Athenagoras and a selection from the longer work of St. Irenaeus. It might be thought that the Apostolic Fathers were already sufficiently known to English readers, but the inclusion of other works less readily available makes the work unique in this type of literature. The alue of the selection would have been greatly increased by the inclusion f the short but important Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching of t. Irenaeus, which, despite the excellent translation and introduction of rmitage Robinson, is neither so widely known nor so readily obtainable s it deserves.

The general reader will find much to interest him. The general ackground and leading ideas of the documents are briefly and interestngly discussed. He need not fear that he will be left without the necessary ntroductory equipment for understanding and enjoyment. The transations are fresh, accurate and idiomatic, no mean achievement in the ase of the much-translated Apostolic Fathers. It can be said without esitation that the book provides an excellent introduction to the Christan life and letters of the second century.

Nor is this a work which the expert can afford to ignore, despite is professional distrust of florilegia in translation. The bibliography is ood and up to date, and notes of caution are offered at just the right oints. Bauer, Schlier and Bartsch deserve study but must be used with ome caution. Questions of what is technically known as introduction re handled with a judicious combination of learning and brevity. Here he "introductions" to the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the *Didache*, 2 Clemnt and the epistle to Diognetus call for honourable mention. There are, owever, one or two rather harsh judgements upon the great work of t. Irenaeus.

The whole work is attractively produced, and it is to be hoped that ts somewhat long price will not detract from the circulation which it eserves. It is certainly good to find the S.C.M. Press, notable for its chievements in the fields of Biblical scholarship, turning its attention o the field of Patristic studies, in which there has been so welcome a evival in recent years.

H. E. W. TURNER

ESSENCE AND EXISTENCE

HE MEANING OF EXISTENCE. A METAPHYSICAL ENQUIRY. By DOM MARK PONTIFEX and DOM ILLTYD TRETHOWAN. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

HIS important small book on the foundations of natural theology by wo monks of Downside Abbey is written on an unusual plan. In the irst part Dom Mark Pontifex expounds a metaphysical doctrine which e has elaborated over a period of some years; in the second part Dom lltyd Trethowan comments on it, extends it and in some measure corects it. Neither of the authors could be called a Thomist in the strict ense, but both of them would claim, and with some justification, that he kind of discussion which they have produced is one with which St. homas would have thoroughly sympathized.

Their starting-point, the duality of essence and existence in finite eings, is one which has been increasingly recognized as important in recent years, and it is the existence of finite essences that, in the great tradition of Christian theism, forms the basis of the arguments for the existence of God. But how precisely do we make the transition from the finite to the infinite? This is the point about which disagreement is found, even among those who would claim to be Thomists in the strict sense. Admitted that the existence of God can be demonstrated from the existence of finite beings, is the process of the demonstration syllogistic or not? If it is not, and there seems to be a growing tendency to take this view, presumably the existence of God must be in some way apprehensible by us in the apprehension of finite being. It is, however, clear that God is not the direct and immediate object of sense-experience; it can only be, then, that he is apprehended mediately, if we know how to look for him, when we apprehend his creatures. Creatures, that is, are apprehended directly and immediately, but when we apprehend them we can also apprehend God as the creative cause of their existence. Dom Pontifex's special contribution to this position lies in his extremely interesting view of the way in which the existence of creatures is indicative of the existence of God.

His argument begins by pointing out that, while existence is a common characteristic of all finite beings, it cannot be a constituent of their nature, for the nature of any one of them would be precisely the same whether it existed or not. What, now, can this characteristic be which, while it applies to each of them, belongs to the nature of none of them? It can, says Dom Pontifex, only be their common aspect of derivation from a single source. The existence of X, Y, and Z simply *is* X, Y, and Z, but looked at as wholly dependent. Thus, when we apprehend any object whatever as existent, we simultaneously but mediately apprehend its creative cause, God, as existent.

On the basis of this fundamental thesis Dom Pontifex goes on to discuss analogy, the duality of essence and existence, the duality of act and potency, and the ontological argument. Both as regards analogy and the essence-existence duality he departs from the line of strict Thomism. The discussion of act and potency, as Dom Trethowan later points out, seems to go back from the position previously established; I would add myself that the importation of the Aristotelian doctrine of act and potency into theistic argumentation seems to me to be of very doubtful utility in any case.

Dom Trethowan opens his part of the book with a chapter entitled "Criticism", in which he suggests both clarifications and corrections of minor points in Dom Pontifex's presentation of their common case. This is followed by a chapter entitled "Confirmations", in which there is a searching examination of the writings of Père Garrigou-Lagrange, Dr. Farrer and the present reviewer. The third chapter, "Approximations", rather surprisingly claims M. Gabriel Marcel as an ally, and links him with M. Aime Forest, M. Louis Lavelle and M. René Le Senne. The final chapter gives an independent discussion of St. Anselm.

Altogether this is a most stimulating work which raises many points or discussion. In particular I find myself wondering whether Dom ontifex's view of analogy really allows for a formal, as distinct from a irtual, attribution of perfections to God, in spite of the ingenuity with hich the author tries to make it do so. Nor do I find it easy to make up y mind about his basic assertion that "existence or reality always involves n its very notion a reference to two objects, to X as real and existing, and o that from which X receives reality and existence". Nor am I quite sure at he has done full justice to St. Thomas's doctrine of the real distinction between essence and existence, attractive as I find his assertion that there is a real distinction between creature and Creator, but not a real bjective distinction between essence and existence in the dependent ing itself"; perhaps Giles of Rome is the real enemy, not St. Thomas. nd on the main thesis I wonder whether it is really St. Thomas who is nder criticism, or only the official Thomists. Whatever the answer ay be to this and other questions which the book raises, there can be o doubt that the two learned authors have brought out into the open number of questions whose discussion was long overdue.

E. L. MASCALL

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN

HE FOURTH GOSPEL AND ITS MESSAGE FOR TO-DAY. By W. H. RIGG, D.D., Archdeacon of Bodmin. Lutterworth Press. 15s.

HE rectory has been traditionally a home of living scholarship, and in ite of the continually increasing demands upon the clergy it is still ue that there is far more sound learning in rectories and vicarages than commonly realized. Even so, such a book as Archdeacon Rigg has w given us, the fruit of a patient study of the Fourth Gospel extending ver half a century, is a remarkable achievement. It is most unmistakly learned and fully up-to-date in its learning. The archdeacon seems have found time in a life of continuous pastoral and administrative ctivity to read everything both in English and in German bearing upon e Gospel, as well as upon its background in Greek, Hellenistic, and wish thought. And he has done so without losing his sense of proporon, for his book really does what it sets out to do, displaying the Fourth ospel in its relevance not only to its own day but to ours.

The result is a book which will be a most valuable companion to any a parish priest, both as an inspiration to his spiritual life and as a imulus to his thinking which should profoundly enrich his preaching. or the archdeacon sees St. John's Gospel not only as "a Tract for the imes" in which it was written but even more as a tract for our own mes too, suggesting with an astonishing degree of relevance the answers hich men are seeking to some of their most burning questions. That single short book, written with no great display of contemporary lture or of literary skill, should be capable of this profound appeal ross the centuries is one of the miracles of inspiration.

The pattern of the archdeacon's book, as well as of the thought which underlies it, is itself Johannine, for it moves in cycles, each illustrating some great theme of the Gospel, rather than in a continuous and reasoned argument. This in itself adds greatly to its value as occasional (not, it is to be hoped, too occasional) reading by the busy parson, since it can be opened and read with profit at almost any page. Nevertheless it will best repay those who can give it regular study, with the Greek Testament open by their side.

The pattern of the book begins with an opening chapter, perhaps for the technical scholars the most interesting in the book, showing how naturally the language and message of the Gospel would appeal both to Jews and Greeks. Perhaps it is not unfair to suggest that the archdeacon is more at home with the current Greek thought of the mystery religions and with the classical tradition reaching back from Philo to Heraclitus than with the equally striking and profound developments of the later Judaism. And it is also true that though the mystery religions were very widespread in their appeal throughout the Roman Empire, not all the mysteries were equally in evidence at any one time and place. It is something of a leap from Ephesus, at the end of the first century, the date and place accepted for the writing of the Gospel, to the Mithraism which spread through the Roman armies in the third and fourth century, or even to the impressive cult of Isis in Egypt and at Rome. What seems to be clear is that the spirit of the age in which these mysteries and many others could go so far to meet man's spiritual need was one to which the Gospel could make a direct and natural appeal. And Archdeacon Riggs is wholly right in pointing to the parallels in the popular cults and religiosities of to-day which make the Gospel a tract for our times too.

The following chapters each take one great theme and work it out in detailed reference to our modern situation. At every point the theologian and the well-informed thinker are revealed, and the underlying message of the Gospel is given full value in terms of to-day. The headings of the chapters indicate the starting-points from which the archdeacon develops his thought, but the full range of his discussion cannot even be indicated here. Thus, the second chapter, headed The Glory of God, becomes discussion of the Cross, the Incarnation, Creation, and the "Omnipatience" of God. Further chapters range through Eternal Life, Now and Hereafter; Sin and its Atonement; the Reception of Eternal Life; The Church; The Sacraments. A final chapter reverts to more usual matters of New Testament scholarship, dealing in a direct and fresh way with Some Characteristics of the Fourth Gospel, and in particular with the writer's claim to be an eye-witness, the evidences and psychology of old age, and his special use of irony. All of which must be read before it can be discussed.

It is a very good book. Would that we had more such archdeacons.

L. W. GRENSTED

THE LOGICAL STATUS OF RELIGIOUS STATEMENTS

The Socratic. No. 5. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 4s.

The borderland between philosophy and religion is ever changing, and the need for charting the current territory from different points of view is always a pressing one. The Oxford University Socratic Club, which exists for this end, occasionally publishes a selection of the papers read at its meetings, and the present volume comprises seven such papers, six of them loosely connected in that they refer to a common problem: What is the logical status of religious statements? This question has its mainspring in the post-war trends of Oxford philosophy and particularly in the development of Logical Positivism which, with its emphasis on linguistic analysis and the criteria of meaning, is issuing a new challenge to the apologist of religion. It is the aim of this short publication to define the challenge and the way in which it can be reconciled with enlightened religious belief.

An historical introduction by Mr. Basil Mitchell shows how the feud between theology and the empiricist philosophers which used to be on the possibility of demonstrating logically the existence of God has shifted so that it is now on the meaningfulness of religious statements. And whereas formerly the believer was only required at worst to concede himself unable to prove to others a faith which he was at liberty to accept himself, the present position is more formidable, for the attack aims to show not that the faith is untrue but that it is meaningless, so that religious statements are at bottom nonsense-statements.

The basis for this attack is the Positivist's demand that the criterion for meaning in any statement must be its relation to some possible sense experience. If this is so, then, *inter alia*, the negative of any statement must involve sense experiences different from the statement itself, and as a test of meaning in "God loves the world", it is legitimate to insist on an answer to the question, How would the world be different if God did not love it?

Although the more recent developments in Oxford philosophy have modified the attack, the cogency of this dilemma is freely admitted by the other contributors who write from similar standpoints.

Mr. I. M. Crombie introduces and dismisses the view that "God loves us" parades as meaningful by relying on a rapid oscillation between the literal and the allegorical. Examining religious experience he finds that it consists in the first place of "undifferentiated theism". This is acquired by a sense of contingency, of moral experience, of order in nature, and although these are all capable of naturalistic as well as religious explanation, the former may not satisfy, even when the latter nvolves logical anomalies. Thus, religious language has a special meaning to the believer and to him the anomalies are a consequence of having to distort and strain words to the limit in using them to grasp after the Ultimates.

From this initially crude theism there follows the interpretation o certain events as manifestations of the divine, so that, for example, a parable, ridiculous at its face value, becomes irradiated with a symbolic truth, for "the parts (of the picture) we do not see are precisely the parts which determine the shape of the whole". Thus Mr. Crombie would give an eschatological answer to the question, What could count against the love of God ?

A slightly different attitude to these matters is taken up by Mr. Geoffrey Midgley. For him the religious attitude is synonymous with "taking seriously the notion of personality" while Positivism (which arises from the scientific attitude) is concerned with its exploitation. The hostility of logical positivism to religion therefore follows. This rather black-and-white analysis is applied to various religious concepts so that, for example, faith is variously seen as "acceptance of data on authority" and "the achievement of a personal relation".

Faith is also the main topic of Professor H. H. Price's paper. Declaring that "by hoping to base theistic belief on proofs one has already lapsed out of the religious attitude", he asserts that faith is made up partly of a sense of the divine and partly of belief.

Replying, Mr. C. S. Lewis makes the distinction between a "settled intellectual assent" and a "trust or confidence in God". The former, which can be acquired by arguments for the existence of God, helps towards the latter.

An amusing allegory by Dr. Austin Farrer crystallizes this discussion and points out that though the logic of statements about God is abstruse, this is unidirectional, for God can stoop and express himself to *us* in simple language within the framework of a particular time and place.

Finally, as a change, there is a paper by Miss Iris Murdoch, comparing existentialism with communism, from which interesting parallels emerge. These are then related to the contemporary political sphere where existentialism appears as the expression of the dilemma which arises from the rejection of Marxism and what is called the "MacArthur morality".

The chief fault of this collection of papers (excluding the last) lies in the fact that the contributors explore too nearly the same ground and express too nearly the same point of view. There is consequently little of the vigour which emerges through opposition, for here there is no prosecution, only a defence. A hint is thrown out in the introductory paper that contemporary Oxford philosophy may have its own metaphysic, so that it would have been instructive to have had an attack on the credentials of logical positivism itself. Such an attack would have widened considerably the sphere of discussion. As it is, this seems to fall between two stools, for whereas not enough is said on the philosophical side, the theological stops short of being fruitful: for example in the discussion on faith.

Despite these faults, this volume makes interesting reading and will be of especial value to all concerned in defending religion against the more fashionable kinds of philosophical attack.

P. C. Jocelyn

CHRISTIANITY AND PROFESSOR JUNG

God and the Unconscious. By Victor White, O.P., with foreword by C. G. Jung and appendix by Gebhard Frei. The Harvill Press, London, 1952. xxv + 277 pp. 21*s*. net.

Father Victor White writes as a Catholic theologian who is trying to communicate his understanding and appreciation of the thought of Professor C. G. Jung. Jung is not an easy author to present from any point of view. He has a language and a way of thinking as widely divergent from that of current science as it is from that of current religious thought. The author, however, brings to the task of interpretation an unusual combination of qualities. He has a sound and scholarly knowledge of Jung's analytical psychology as well as of Catholic Theology and Scholastic thought. He is aware of the obstacles to mutual comprehension created by the differences in the language used in these two systems of thought but he shows himself a skilful translator well able to appreciate when the two systems are saying the same thing in different ways and when they are saying different things. Above all he shows an unfailing fair-mindedness which makes him willing to consider sympathetically ideas with which he disagrees.

The author has also had the advantage of discussion with Dr. Jung who has also contributed a foreword. In this he gives a cordial welcome to Father White's positive contribution to the understanding of the theological implications of analytical psychology. His main ground of dissent is his rejection of the Catholic doctrine that evil is a privation of good. It is perhaps surprising to find a psychologist finding fault with a Catholic theologian for not taking sin seriously enough. Possibly Jung is mistaken in thinking that the idea of the privation of good implies that evil is not real. As he himself points out, a state of privation is a real state.

It is above all in letters from Jung quoted in the appendix by G. Frei that Jung makes clear his attitude towards religion. Jung has often been suspected of an attempt to psychologize religion, to replace God by a concept. The phrase which led to this suspicion was his reference to God as a "psychological reality". He explains, however, that he was speaking as an empiricist and not as a metaphysician. His meaning was that God was revealed in analytical psychology as at least a pyschological reality which the psychologist could not afford to ignore. He says in a letter "I have never anywhere denied God. I proceed from a positive Christianity . . ." (p. 258). This is also expressed more positively in another letter (which, however, Frei reminds us, must be understood in line with Jung's terminology if it is not to give a false impression): "Every day am I thankful to God that I have been allowed to experience the reality of the Divine Image within me. . . . thanks to this act of grace, my life has meaning, and my inward eye has been opened to the beauty and the greatness of dogma." (p. 262). Perhaps, however, there is some ground for the suspicion that at one time Jung's thought involved a psychologizing of religion since in 1917 he said in his *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology* (p. 415). "The question of God's existence . . . is one of the most fatuous that can be put". The more positive attitude he now expresses towards theology may represent more of a change of opinion than he seems to recognize.

Father White's book is made up of lectures and talks given on various occasions. This is not generally a good method of producing a unified book but the chapters are generally so closely related to the central system of ideas expressed in the title that there is little effect of patchwork. Occasionally, chapters have found their way in without perhaps quite sufficient justification. For example, Chapter VI on Aristotle, Aquinas and Man seems not to have much to do with God and the Unconscious but it is so interesting in itself that one is not much inclined to quarrel with its inclusion. Occasionally also there has been insufficient revision of the spoken word to adapt it for printing. On p. 70, for example, there is the sentence: "But he has to remember that what is considered to be symbolic of what is largely a matter of the conscious standpoint, and of what is first apprehended in consciousness". This would probably be easily intelligible when spoken because the articulation would be provided by pauses and stresses not represented in print. Its first effect on the printed page is to produce bewilderment.

These are, however, trivial criticisms. Father White has written a memorable work which deserves a wide audience. It should be of value to those whose language and thought is that of orthodox religion who want to understand what Jung has to say. It should also be of equal value to those whose language and thought is that of psychology who wish to understand the teachings of Catholic Christianity.

R. H. THOULESS

A NEW METHOD

THE VICTORIAN SAGE: STUDIES IN ARGUMENT. By JOHN HOLLOWAY. Macmillan, 1953. 18s.

THIS is a difficult book to review objectively and impersonally. Its value, and its evaluation, will differ more than usual with different readers. Some will find it exciting, others boring, some will see it leading by unnecessarily devious routes to foregone conclusions, others will find that Mr. Holloway's technique has produced new, interesting and true results.

I number myself with the appreciators, though this side idolatry. His subjects are Carlyle, Disraeli (as novelist), George Eliot, Newman, Mathew Arnold and Hardy. Few of his readers will be equally well up in all six. Neither am I, and, in such circumstances, I often find myself edified where I am ignorant, but sceptical or disappointed where I think I know my way about. With this book the opposite happened. I am tolerably familiar with Hardy's novels, but I think Mr. Holloway has fully justified his "one enquiry more". His technique has produced new and sound results. On the other hand I am far from familiar with Disraeli's novels, and Mr. Holloway has done nothing to convince me that Disraeli the novelist was a "sage", except, of course, in so far as every intelligent person has some sort of *Weltanschauung*. Paradoxically, Disraeli is the only one of these six who cannot, I think, for any mood or method, be styled, as the phrase is, "a Hebrew prophet."

Mr. Holloway's method is a development, at a distance, of old-fashioned rhetoric. His concern is not so much with rhetorical questions or tropes (though tropes, of course, come in) as with the way in which the characteristics of a writer's style and imagery contribute to his effect both by its constantly repeated pattern and also, if one may borrow an expression from the barbarism of our own age, by softening up the mind of the reader. Thus in Carlyle's philosophy, which "in a word . . . is *anti-mechanism*", Mr. Holloway finds four main tenets. He then proceeds to exhibit the devices by which these four main tenets are presented. The first tenet is that "the universe is fundamentally not an inert automatism, but the expression or indeed incarnation of a cosmic spiritual life." The devices are "passionate energy of style", "dramatization of discussions" e.g. by means of the mythical Professor Teufelsdröckh in *Sartor Resartus*, and figurative language of "power or force or energy", e.g. fire, moving water, animal life:—

"His work is a veritable verbal menagerie: within a mere sixty pages of *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, for example, the ape, wolf, dog, pig, ass, hyena, dragon, serpent, sparrow, python, buzzard, eagle, owl, mouse, horse, mole, rat, beaver, spider, wren and canary all make their appearance in metaphorical uses, many of them several times over. Elsewhere, there are Kilkenny cats, beetles, lions, crows, bees, beagles, boa-constrictors, ostriches, cormorants, camels, lynxes, krakens, hydras, centaurs, chimeras, megatherions, and a multitude of anonymous monsters. The ass chews a thistle, the boa-constrictor wrestles with the lion, the Kilkenny cats are at their legendary occupation, the owl screeches, the apes gibber and chatter. Whether his images enlighten us about the good things in the world or the bad, this effect is equally present: everything seems busy with a restless, overwhelming life."

Mr. Holloway makes no claim to have written an easy book. He tells us we must read carefully and work hard at it. On the other hand he claims with justice to have written in such a way as to "minimize a reader's disadvantage if he happens not to have read a particular work or not to recall a particular part of it." It is in no way one of the common, current works of psychological analysis. The analysis is of style in order to bring out meaning. Nor is there any mechanical repetition of method in dealing with each of the six writers. There are some voluntary limitations of subject. The chapter on Newman is limited to Newman's writings as a Roman Catholic. Arnold's and Hardy's poetry is excluded from the survey. The novelists have to be treated rather differently from the others, and there is a good deal of straight exposition in the Hardy chapter.

The sub-title *Studies in Argument* could be misleading but is important. Mr. Holloway is not concerned with pushing the philosophy of any sage but with showing how the sage himself pushed it—whether it is Carlyle's "anti-mechanism", Newman's "providential system of the world" or Arnold's advocating "not so much any definite view, as the mental prerequisites of forming views". It is inevitable that Mr. Holloway should sometimes seem to represent the sage as more conscious of his devices than he probably was (is Mr. Holloway fully conscious of his own stylistic peculiarities, e.g. his excessive use of "how" clauses?). One consequence is that one is liable to develop a suspicion not of the sage's sincerity but of his straightforwardness, a suspicion which Mr. Holloway has to take pains to refute. This suspicion arises particularly where we are introduced to the "verbal argument" as used by Carlyle or Newman. The four types of verbal argument are skilfully diagnosed (p. 192), but they boil down to two—arguing that a word properly has a wider or narrower sense than that from which we start. "That all these arguments [of Newman's] are 'about words' does not make them either deceptive on the one hand, or trivial on the other . . . . . Moreover, verbal argument, seeming as it does to replace controversial argument by non-controversial explanations about meanings, is invaluable to Newman in sustaining both the conciliatory and the imperturbable tones of his work".

I said that a suspicion of the sage's straightforwardness is sometimes aroused. What Mr. Holloway does do, and presumably means, is to show just how a powerful and imaginative writer may have convinced us against our will (and we can hardly be convinced with our will by all six of these). That may leave us in the blessed situation of being able comfortably to remain "of the same opinion still."

H. M. Margoliouth

THE FORM OF A SERVANT

The Dominion of Christ. By L. S. Thornton. Dacre Press. 25s.

We appear to be living in one of the creative epochs of biblical study, when vast issues are treated in vital fashion: and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the outstanding subject of inquiry to-day is this, What is the message of Scripture in its wholeness? There was a time when the chief concern was analysis, the detection of sources, the discovery of differences, so that it seemed as if there might prove to be little meaning in regarding the Bible as one book. All this now tends to be partly assumed, partly left behind: and so we have massive works like this of Dr. Thornton, which is a sequel to "Revelation and the Modern World", and the forerunner of yet another volume. All three are to be gathered together under the title "The Form of a Servant". Here is the keynote. The Bible tells of the amazing condescension of God, and of His complete sovereignty. That is the pattern of thought of the whole: and the two key-words are Creation and Redemption.

The Christian faith is set in a vast context of cosmic history. God made, God redeems, God reigns: and one merit of Dr. Thornton's book is that he never lets us forget the magnitude of the Christian vision. It is surprising that, arising in so small a country as Palestine, the Christian outlook from the first had so comprehensive a range—that is one token of inspiration.

The special purpose of "The Dominion of Christ" is to set forth with manifold reference to Scripture the biblical doctrine of God's sovereignty as exercised in Creation and Redemption. With persuasive thoroughness Dr. Thornton traces patterns of thought recurring through the two Testaments, giving to them their unity, and supplying a view of life which it is the duty of the Christian Church to proclaim, however much it may differ from contemporary fashions of thought. He is insistent on the indissoluble connexion of the Scriptural revelation with its historical background and circumstances. That gives it a distinctness, not to say particularity.

In this review we shall content ourselves with calling attention to a few tremendous issues raised: thus trying to indicate with some precision the place of this book in the history and development of Bible Study.

1. Since the Christian revelation cannot be separated from the medium through which it came (here we may note a sharp contrast with Bultmann's ideas) we shall have to face a searching examination of the old problem of the relation of the particular to the universal in regard to Christology. How can Jesus, in his humanity, a Jew be the universal Man? How can He show forth the ideal of humanity, and the nature of the God of all races?

2. Granted that the Bible exhibits recurrent patterns of thought, what is the origin of this recurrence? It might be conscious literary dependence; and at this our author hints more than once. But we may wonder whether in fact that was the way the sacred writers went to work. It would appear more probable that their unity of outlook was forced upon them by the facts they met in their first-hand experience of life. That has happened in the case of the great Tragedies of the dramatists of all ages. Their themes were set for them by life itself. And again we must remember the oneness in the source of inspiration, even the Spirit of Truth. It may well be that in his forthcoming volume Dr. Thornton will clarify his views on these points.

3. When all has been said that can be said to stress the unity of the Old and New Testaments, there surely remains more than this volume

allows of fundamental differences. For instance, Dr. Thornton traces some parallels between the lives of David and Jesus; e.g., David was an outlaw at Adullam, Jesus thrust out from His home. But could anyone find in Jesus of Nazareth a Davidic King? Surely everything that leads up to Zionism was both put aside by Jesus ("My kingdom is not of this world"), and forever made impossible by the rejection of the Messiah. "Not this man but Barabbas" marks one of the unbridgeable gulfs that shatter history's continuity.

Again, there were books of the Old Testament from which Jesus never quoted; assuredly because their outlook could not be transmuted into His. The index reveals that Dr. Thornton does not quote Judges, Esther, Joel, Zephaniah, Haggai, or Ecclesiastes: Joshua is acknowledged in a footnote; and, surprisingly, Leviticus appears but twice.

All this emphasizes the imperative need to remember that Christianity is much more than the climax of Hebrew religion.

4. There is a danger that we may too much lose sight of the wholeness of the inspired personality of the individual writers: they may come to be for us less than real men unless such treatments as Dr. Thornton's in this volume are balanced by careful studies of the individual viewpoints and qualities of the several writers.

But enough of questions and dangers. We will end on another note. This book is an invaluable mine of scriptural insights, and will send many a student back again to the familiar texts to find them filled with a new life and power. Few things, for example, could be more impressive than the magnificent exegesis of Philippians ii, 1-11; or the discussion of the significance of the Transfiguration as the prefigurement of victory. Dr. Thornton has once again put us all most deeply in his debt: may he be spared to write much more for the building up of the saints in the assurance of faith!

C. J. Barker

A REFORMATION DIVINE

Thomas Becon and the Reformation of the Church in England. By Derrick Sherwin Bailey. Oliver & Boyd. 15s.

History deals a little hardly with its secondary figures. Thomas Becon served his generation diligently and valuably during his life time; he was known to most of his contemporaries as a preacher, writer and controversialist; his books sold well, he was a Canon of Canterbury and Chaplain to Cranmer. He wrote voluminously. Yet his books have been singularly neglected. A substantial selection from them was published in three volumes by John Ayre for the invaluable Parker Society in 1843-1844 but they have been little referred to even by reputable historians. Nor is this entirely inexplicable, for, without some such guide as is now provided by Dr. Bailey, Becon remains a rather shadowy figure.

It is not an easy matter to establish the simple biographical facts of even eminent Tudor figures, as the uncertainty that surrounds the early life of so well known a figure as Sir Thomas More exemplifies, and Dr. Bailey is to be congratulated upon having compiled so sensible and convincing a narrative from rather scanty materials. This Norfolk boy, of undistinguished parentage, made his way to Cambridge at a time when that university was not only admittedly in a healthier state than its only rival but also the focus of the new Lutheran thought from the Continent.

The Statute of Six Articles (1539) obliged Becon to make a public and repeated recantation of his teaching and to go into retirement; it is obvious enough, however, that he regarded the recantations as a mere formality and he continued, cautiously and secretly, his propaganda. Under Edward VI he was regarded as a moderate, but was notorious enough to be imprisoned by Gardiner in the Tower in 1553, from which he escaped to join the English refugees at Strassburg. His return under Elizabeth was rewarded with benefices and a canonry but, although a kind of precursor of a very moderate type of conforming Puritan, he retired into semi-obscurity until his early death in 1567.

He was the populariser rather than the originator, the exponent of the views of others rather than the creator of new thought. Like his contemporaries he abused his opponents in language that must be termed scurrilous; he was well content with the Elizabethan settlement, provided that *adiaphora*, non-essentials, could remain non-essentials. All his writings are mines of information about doctrine and about current thought on social and economic problems. His *New Catechism*, in particular, deserves attention. Like Cranmer, Becon thought that a godly prince must be right and he was all submission to authority. This explains much, and Dr. Bailey would have done well to study the thought of Cranmer more deeply. He has, however, turned a typical doctoral thesis into a useful and readable manual; he has restored Becon to something of his rightful place in Reformation studies and he has drawn attention to a view of the Last Supper which makes Cranmer's position a little clearer. There are numerous quotations from Becon's writings which, unfortunately, are too frequently transcribed incorrectly, and Becon's relations with, and dependence on, Bucer and Bullinger deserve a little more investigation. But the story as a whole is well and clearly told.

George Richard Potter

DEUTERONOMY

Studies in Deuteronomy. By Gerhard von Rad, translated by David Stalker. S.C.M. Press. 7s. net.

This is one of the "Studies in Biblical Theology" series which are being published to further such study within the Church, and "to set out more clearly the nature of Biblical faith as a living phenomenon of vital significance for the contemporary Christian." The English edition of this monograph is from the edition published in 1948. It contains 96 pages and is bound in paper covers. The author is known for his writings on the Hexateuch, and it is obvious from other authorities whom he quotes, such as Noth, Horst and Welch to mention only two or three, that he has made a thorough study of his subject.

The book is divided into seven chapters, dealing with the character and traditions of Deuteronomy from the point of view of form-criticism, the Holiness Codes, the Priestly Documents, the Holy War, and the Origin, Theology and Purpose of the Book.

The character of Deuteronomy is well summed up by the Author in Chapter 3 where he says it "makes its appearance at a definite point in Israel's faith. It makes its appearance as a finished, mature, beautifully proportioned and theologically clear work. Because of these characteristics it is in all circumstances to be taken, as in one respect, the final product of a long and extremely complex development. At a relatively late date it gathers together practically the whole of the assets of the faith of Israel, re-sifting them and purifying them theologically. The most vigorous groups of traditions are harmonised to one another in it, and welded together into as complete and perfect unity as can well be conceived. In this respect, as in others, it is comparable with John's Gospel in the New Testament *corpus*." He also points out that "Deuteronomy is not divine law in codified form, but preaching about the Commandments—at least the Commandments appear in a form when they are very much interspersed with parenesis," or, as he puts it elsewhere, in less abstruse language, "by the introduction throughout of little homiletic flourishes."

It is a pity that the book is packed with so many "sesquipedalian," and often exotic, words such as "theologumenon," "amphictyony," "apodeictic," "polemic functioning," "parenetic interspersion"; and sentences like: "the existential quality of this divine *praedicatio impii*"; even with shorter words the author, or his translator, prefers technical and unusual words like "sacral" and "cultic norms". From these very few examples out of many more which could be quoted, it is obvious that the English edition of Herr von Rad's monograph is not intended for those who prefer a more vulgar tongue, nor, in its English garb, can it be said that the book fulfils the command of Yahweh to Habakkuk. But perhaps that does not matter, as it obviously is not an elementary book for beginners to "run through", nor is it meant to be; but for those with an almost professorial knowledge of the O.T., who know, for example, the difference between the Holiness and the Priestly Codes, and what the "*Perturbatio Sacrorum*" was, and have a close acquaintance with the phraseology of Biblical Scholarship; but there is much of interest in it, though the preacher will discover little in it to help him in preparing his sermons. For these reasons the book is unlikely to attain a large circulation.

A. D. Power

MUSCULAR CHRISTIAN

THOMAS HUGHES. By EDWARD C. MACK and W. H. G. ARMYTAGE. Ernest Benn. 30s.

THERE has been a significant revival of interest recently in F. D. Maurice and the group that crystallized round him. Maurice himself has since the war been the subject of as many as four books, that by the Bishop of Durham being of quite outstanding importance, and two volumes have been devoted to Kingsley. A biography of J. M. Ludlow, the founder of the "Christian Socialist" movement, is known to be in preparation and its appearance should make an important addition to our knowledge of the movement's inspiration and activities. Now an American and an English author have combined to give us the life story of "the empiric man of action" who "made them a team".

Though Hughes was not a particularly interesting character he was, if hardly an eminent, at least a very significant Victorian. But apart from its interest as biography, an interest which the authors well sustain, the book should be particularly valuable in helping to destroy the impression that "Christian Socialism" flared up and then completely died out in a brief half a dozen years. Hughes, like Ludlow and E. V. Neale, not only never abandoned the princples and policies which the group began to excogitate in 1848, but actively and at much personal sacrifice continued to work for them all his life. When the Christian Social Union was founded forty years after 1848 he enthusiastically joined it, saying that "nothing makes my last years so hopeful and cheery as seeing how many parsons are coming out four square for Christian Socialism".

Yet there is a certain truth in the view which fails to recognize any continuity between the movement inspired by Maurice and the later one pioneered by Scott Holland and Gore. For neither the theological nor the sociological ethos of the two movements was the same. Maurice was a profoundly inspiring personality to those who fell under his spell, and how significant a theologian he was, for later ages even more than his own, Dr. Ramsey's Maurice Lectures have made brilliantly clear. Yet the Christian Socialists, while hailing him as "the Prophet", seem to have been curiously insensitive to the theological aspects of his prophecy. For Hughes, Christ was essentially the ideal man, and Christianity seemed to find its main, almost its sufficient, embodiment in "manliness"; his is the "muscular Christianity", criticized even in its own day for leaving out revelation and the "sense of sin as an offence against God". It has in fact been suggested (by Dr. Vidler, I believe) that there never were any "Mauricians", and Hughes at any rate was much more of an "Arnoldian", for whom the Church was, quite explicitly, the "nation organized for spiritual purposes". Hence a theology adequate to underpin an authentic Christian social movement, as that of Maurice could perhaps have been made to do, had to be discovered all over again. But when the work of rediscovery began it owed very little to Maurice, and the evolutionary "climate of opinion" in which it was developed did something to take the sting of challenge out of its social policies. The "Christian Socialism" of 1850 had never looked to state initiative. It sought (too impetuously and prematurely no doubt, but with a sure instinct for the essential) for means to place responsibility in the hands of the workers themselves. To this idea Hughes, like Ludlow (of whom we hear too little in this book), clung throughout his life, and it involved him in bitter and unavailing struggles to prevent the co-operative movement from being swung over completely into mere store-keeping in the interests of consumers. Yet as these authors justly observe:

> though the pilot ventures in co-partnership established by Hughes and his colleagues would hardly be visible on a map of late nineteenth century industrial Britain drawn on the largest possible scale, nevertheless they served to nourish a concept which may yet supplant the State Socialism of the early twentieth century: a concept far more capable of exciting those industrial incentives which the bureaucratic State of the Fabian imagination has so far failed to provide.

This review has lacked the space necessary to do justice to the singularly wide range of interests which engaged the energies of this generous, impetuous, tenacious, if somewhat intellectually narrow and intolerant man. It is probably a true instinct which has led to Hughes being remembered almost solely by his famous school story. As "Tom Brown" he was a sort of Peter Pan, and as these authors say, "loved his school days so much that he remained to some extent a boy all his life". The "manliness" he extolled is rather an extension of boyishness than a balanced maturity; and it is perhaps no exaggeration to suggest that the influence of Hughes' story has done as much as anything to create that prolongation of adolescence which foreigners often remark in the English. Yet when all is said, few men of his time struggled harder, through an often complacent age, in the words of his own too much neglected hymn (*O God of Truth*: A. & M. 440, E.H. 449) "to smite the lies that vex Thy groaning earth".

MAURICE B. RECKITT

T. R. GLOVER

T. R. GLOVER. A BIOGRAPHY. By H. G. WOOD. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

T. R. GLOVER is known widely as the author of *The Jesus of History.* This book published in 1917 had a great circulation running into more than 100,000 copies. Its popularity was deserved. Gore recommended it to candidates for ordination. Its attractive style of presentation went with much learning and historical insight. Times have changed, and Glover's method of approach has given way to new modes of thought and interpretation. But Glover's book is likely to live. It has sterling qualities.

For T. R. Glover was scholar as well as evangelist. He had already written his *Studies in Virgil* together with two notable works on Roman history: *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, and *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*. They were to be followed by a number of other works on Graeco-Roman culture. Glover was an adherent of classical humanism, and he viewed the increasing preponderance of scientific and technical education at Cambridge with apprehension. That might be the explanation of his sometimes complaining that he ought to have been at Oxford. As a classical scholar his reputation stood high and his pupils have paid a tribute to his gifts as a teacher of Latin and Greek in which role he diverged far from his eminent contemporary, A. E. Housman. Housman, said Glover, deemed it none of his business to communicate literary appreciation. He was the exponent of a narrower scholarship. Glover was something more than a philologist. He commented on ancient authors as one with experience of life. In 1920 he was elected Public Orator for the University.

If we consider Glover's works broadly we are aware of something uncommon—a sound classical scholarship combined with a deep-seated evangelical purpose. He understood the Graeco-Roman civilization and he saw what Christianity gave it. He agreed with the view once expressed by Sainte-Beuve "La venue meme du Christ n'a rien qui étonne, quand on a lu Virgile". In *The World of the New Testament* Glover shows the character of "the world that the early church had to win".

Glover was a Baptist and a keen champion of the independent virtues of dissent. Professor H. G. Wood has dealt ably with his service to his church. He was a deacon for many years and took an active, if unassuming part in the work of the Baptist churches in Cambridge and its environs. In 1923 Glover was elected president of the Baptist Union. There had been much controversy. Professor Wood has written a valuable chapter in the history of Nonconformity. It is very interesting also to earn of Glover's work—in association with Alexander Nairne and Quiller-Couch—on the preparation of the important *Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching in Schools*. This was a lasting service to national education, but like his work for the Baptist Union and his religious journalism it hardly furthered his prospects of academic advancement. "Adcock told him a tale of Oscar Browning which he felt applied to his own case. 'There are three things Cambridge never forgives a man for—being known outside, knowing anything outside his own subject, being able to express himself lucidly in speech and writing . . .' " This seems exaggerated, but it remains true that Glover spent a great deal of his time during the latter years lecturing in the U.S.A. and Canada. Perhaps he was not quite suited temperamentally or a narrowly academic task. But by his death in 1943 Cambridge lost a distinguished man who had done much for religion by his learning nd by his sturdy independence.

SIGNPOST TO SANITY

Society and Sanity. By F. J. Sheed. Sheed & Ward. 10s. 6d.

In following up his volume on *Theology and Sanity* by one expounding th Christian doctrine of Man and Society, Mr. Sheed epitomizes what perhaps the most significant trend in the development of Christia thought in our time. While from the theoretical angle the developme can be traced back most clearly to Maurice, it owes still more (as is usu in such cases) to the pressure of events in the secular sphere. "What Man that Thou art mindful of him?' 'is—whether consciously or su consciously formulated—the supreme question of this century; and th despite (or because of) the fact that it is one upon which the liberal min has been, either proudly or resignedly, as agnostic as it has been abou the nature and reality of the Creator. Man, as Mr. Sheed points out i his Introduction, is the sociologist's nightmare: as a species he is uniqu in creation; as an individual his character and actions are largely un predictable. With the ever closer integration of human societies thi singularity, this recalcitrance, is felt no longer merely as a puzzle bu rather as a nuisance; an "answer" has got to be found. It was Bernar Shaw, Mr. Sheed reminds us, who declared that "if the human race wil not serve, nature must try another experiment". Not everyone is willing to wait for nature (still less for "super-nature"); answers to the puzzle are being given—and applied—by Marxists, by biologists, and more tentatively by the planners of "welfare states". But all the time there has existed—implicit rather than explicit—the Christian answer, an answer of which most Christians, ironically enough, are themselves almos wholly unaware. What that answer essentially is it is Mr. Sheed's purpose to tell them, and most ably and attractively he fulfils it. The book —a masterpiece of clarity—is a joy to read, and the "sanity" of its title is evident on every page.

The author, of course, writes as a member of the Roman communion, but his ecclesiastical allegiance is never irrelevantly obtruded. The doctrine he expounds, being Catholic in the most authentic sense, presents little with which any Anglican should wish to quarrel, though perhaps in its second section on "Marriage and the Family" there are particular statements to which a good many of us may be unwilling to subscribe. In the third section on "Society and State" Mr. Sheed is inevitably led to discuss some matters (as e.g. the character of the Welfare State) on which unanimity among Christians is neither to be expected nor required. The author excludes the economic and industrial sphere altogether from his purview; such exclusion is legitimate enough, for a book of this size cannot cover the whole sphere of Christian sociology. Perhaps Mr. Sheed will complete a trilogy (or encourage someone else to do so) with a volume on Economics and Sanity. For sanity is conspicuously absent from this aspect of a post-Christian society, and by omission of all treatment of this the reader is left with a certain impression of remoteess from present-day realities. It is the domination and distortion of nodern societies by idolatrous and fatalistic assumptions in the economic phere, and the social patterns which spring from them, which not only nake any appreciation of his essential nature as a "child of God" unaturally difficult for industrialised man, but have produced the modern eresies which attempt to explain him to himself in a spuriously "realstic" character as purely an economic being.

But as the Christian knows—or should know—man is not a purely 'spiritual" being either. As Mr. Sheed says, "of all religious Christianity lone accepts the body fully and ungrudgingly." This affirmation made in is opening section on "Man" provides him with a basis in his second ection for a treatment of the primary elements in Marriage which is dmirable in its realism; nowhere before has one seen a rationale of the Catholic doctrine in its (allegedly) "rigorous" form so sanely and positively presented. Yet though this section is headed "Marriage *and the Family*", very little is in fact said about family life, and even less about he "mutual society, help and comfort" which for the parties to a mariage do, after all, constitute the most continuous and enduring element n their association. Mr. Sheed, in so notably avoiding the sentimentality nd squeamishness of too many Christian writers on this subject, has eacted perhaps a little too far in concentrating his attention on the hysical foundation of the marriage tie, vital as it is to be clear about his and its integral relation to the spiritual factors bound up with it. On the essential indissolubility of a true marriage Mr. Sheed is paricularly good. When Christians say they do not "believe" in divorce, hey are commonly taken to mean—and unfortunately all too often do nean—no more than that they do not think the legal dissolution of a narriage contract is likely to be a wise, honourable or socially advanageous arrangement, as no doubt it is not. But in fact they *ought* to nean precisely what they say, namely that they do not believe that a rue marriage *can* be dissolved and another made, since the very nature f the relationship forbids this. Just why it does so Mr. Sheed most exellently brings out.

What is—rather forbiddingly perhaps—known as "Christian socioogy" is too often tough to read and still tougher to digest. A reviewer vho has himself sometimes struggled to elucidate some of the matters vith which Mr. Sheed deals is filled with admiration (tinged perhaps vith envy) at his success. Within the limits which the author has set or himself, nothing nearly so good has been done before. If this judgenent should seem extravagant, let the reader test the matter for himself.

MAURICE B. RECKITT

EXPLORER AND MYSTIC

Francis Younghusband. Explorer and Mystic. By George Seaver. John Murray. 25s.

The career and writings of Francis Younghusband cannot be overlooked by any student of religious questions. They contain one answer to a problem which has exercised the minds of many Englishmen whose circumstances as administrators, soldiers or business men have brough them into close relations with indigenous people of non-Christian traditions. It is the problem of cooperation.

"I remember the rude Mongols, far away in the midst of the Gob Desert, setting apart in their tents the little altar at which they worshipped I recall nights spent in the tents of the wandering Kirghizs, when the family of an evening would say their prayers together; I think of the Afghan and Central Asian merchants visiting me in Yarkand, and in the middle of their visits asking to be excused while they laid down a mat on the floor and repeated their prayers . . . "

These words confirm a sentiment which lies at the heart of all Younghusband's manifold activities. Himself a profoundly Christian man, he looked with sympathy and respect on devout men of other creeds.

His strong conviction of a spiritual reality, realised during his long and lonely journeys in the mountains and deserts of Asia, was the dominant influence of his life.

Francis Younghusband died in 1942 at a time of national crisis. He had been taken ill during a meeting at Birmingham of the World Congress of Faiths, that organ of religious cooperation which he founded. For in spite of the dangers and anxieties of the war years his energy and courage remained unabated. In his person were united the fine qualities of a soldier with a pressing realization of spiritual problems.

During the nineteenth century, when the consolidation of India was one of the principal tasks of British endeavour, a number of old families habitually gave their sons to the army and civil service in that country. The Younghusbands were one of these families; and every student of Indian history is familiar with the name. Sir Francis was the son of a Major-General who had served under Napier in Sind, and under John Nicholson on the North-West Frontier. His great-uncle was a Captain in the Navy who fought his ship with distinction under Nelson at the Nile. His brother commanded the Guides, and wrote the History of that famous regiment.

Francis was at Clifton under Percival and at Sandhurst. His upbringing was religious like that of many others of his class and circumstances. His account of his parents is moving and significant.

Gazetted in 1882 to the King's Dragoon Guards, stationed at Meerut, Younghusband soon proved himself a very promising regimental officer, and was appointed adjutant when only twenty-two. But he was destined for extra-regimental work. In 1884 he was lent to the Divisional Staff or special duties arising out of a frontier incident in which Russia figured. Soon after, through his own initiative, we find him exploring Manchuria and making his famous journey across the Gobi Desert and onward by the Mustagh Pass through the Himalayas back to Kashmir. The achievement of this daring and testing task attracted the notice of Sir Frederick Roberts. It was not long before he was employed on an important exploratory expedition on the Northern frontier of Kashmir. In 1892 he was sent to Hunza as Political Officer, and in the following year he became Political Agent in Chitral. Thus at the age of 30 Younghusband had seen extraordinary service in which he combined the qualifications of both administrator and explorer. In the rich annals of the British Empire opportunity has often fallen to young men of courage and ideas, but it would be difficult to find a parallel to Younghusband's achievement.

Remarkable evidence of his sense of vocation is to be found in the diaries kept at this period. The writer speaks of fitting himself for his "future life's work, namely, to the cause of a really living religion". His work on the Indian frontier was "true missionary work" and he found n the officers on the Frontier devoted men.

It was the mission to Tibet in 1903 which provided a signal occasion for Younghusband to show his remarkable gifts as soldier, administrator and diplomatist. It was a very successful undertaking, although far from easy, and Curzon who, as Viceroy, had planned it was satisfied. But, as so often happens, his work was largely undone by Lord Middleton, the Secretary of State, who was disposed to censure rather than praise. It was not until 1917 that a very different Secretary of State, Austen Chamberlain made amends, and awarded him the highest honour of knighthood given for services in India. Younghusband brought to the problems of imperial policy a deep insight and wide sympathies. But the wisdom and foresight of those men who have served on the frontiers of the Empire have not always received support in the purlieus of Whitehall, where caution and delay are more usual.

It is in the last period of his life that Younghusband was able to fulfil hopes which he had long cherished in his original and instructive work for the World Congress of Faiths. Inter-religious cooperation does not commend itself to everyone. There have been capable apologists who were prepared on behalf of other religions to claim absolute authority and universality. And as Christians we ourselves cannot surrender a similar claim. There remains, however, room for something other than a purely negative attitude in our relations with non-Christian religions. So, at least, Younghusband believed, and many have agreed with him.

The issue is not, however, free from complications. For there are heologians of standing, like Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, author of *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, who have argued that there is no continuity between the Christian Revelation and the many attempts which man has made to apprehend the totality of existence. "There are no bridges from human religious consciousness to Christ." This view, the characteristic expression of "neo-orthodoxy" cannot be ignored.

There has long existed, however, a school of thought which admits of a more courteous attitude to non-Christian religions. This found utterance in a work entitled *Mankind and the Church* edited by Bishop H. H. Montgomery in 1907. In this book, and in others, it is contended that all religions—not excluding the animistic cults of the simpler peoples—have some knowledge of religious truth. Christianity, however, is the fulfilment and completion of other religions. Such a view is never likely to conduce to cooperation among intelligent non-Christians, since they would not admit the claim to priority put forward on behalf of Christianity

Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties on both sides, there have been far-seeing thinkers in every great Christian communion who have desired some form of understanding with other faiths. The World Congress of Faiths has had eminent supporters. To desire cooperation does not necessarily imply any doubt or concession about the finality of the revelation which Christians have received. But the knowledge of an absolute does not annul the inherent relativity of human thinking Younghusband had given much reflection to this problem, and the extracts from his early addresses on the subject which are preserved in Dr. Seaver's work are to be studied.

THE DOCTRINE OF MAN

The Image of God in Man. By David Cairns. The Kerr Lectures for 1949. S.C.M. Press. 1953. 18s.

This important and comprehensive study of the Imago Dei fills a gap in contemporary theological literature. Its author, Professor of Practical Theology in the University of Aberdeen, finds in the doctrine which he is studying an important point of contact with contemporary secular humanism and his acute and closely reasoned chapters on the Marxist and Freudian doctrines of man should commend his work to many readers whose interests are not primarily theological. If in a subsequent book he would expand this part of his theme, he would put us all even further in his debt.

His work traces the history of the concept from Biblical times through the Fathers, through St. Thomas Aquinas, Luther and Calvin to the critical debate between Barth and Brunner at the present day. It was inevitable that in a work of restricted compass some superficiality should display itself in the treatment of the Fathers which is somewhat derivative, and a Thomist would have much matter for dispute in the brief chapter devoted to St. Thomas. All will be grateful for the clear exposition of the Biblical evidence and the treatment of the Barth-Brunner controversy is a first-rate piece of theological exposition. Professor Cairns shows a real power of sustained criticism, independence of mind, clarity of expression and soundness of judgement.

The author writes as a Reformed theologian whose devotion to the tradition which he represents is at once profound and enlightened. Philosophically he leans towards the Christian Existentialism of the

Continental Divines but he has not forgotten his philosophical training n the very different tradition of Oxford between the wars. He has a atural and instinctive distrust for the adequacy of interpreting the Imago Dei in terms of the possession of reason by man and of the possibility of constructing a Natural Theology. He accepts however the existence of a general revelation and a universal confrontation by the Logos of God. But above all he shows reserve in his treatment of the concept of divinisation. Here he makes a valuable distinction between divini- ation and deification but even so he finds the concept dangerously one-sided. The Biblical basis is not however as flimsy as he appears o find it. The Fathers appealed not only to II Peter but also to Psalm 2, and if, as he himself suggests, it should be linked with the "In Christ" mysticism of St. Paul, its Scriptural basis could be greatly extended. It s curious to find a clear statement of the principle which he distrusts n the quotation from Gerald Manley Hopkins with which he ends his ook.

The subject owes much to its difficulty from the number of back- round issues involved. To write on the Imago Dei requires a firm grasp n the whole theological predicament of man and God's measures in Redemption to meet that predicament. Here he has made a real contribu- on to his subject. In the Bible he finds a contrast between the treatment n the Old and New Testaments, between the concept of the Image a atural endowment and as supernatural opportunity. There must be at once that in man which makes him the fit object of redemption and an mage which only those who are in the way of redemption can know. hough St. Irenaeus was wrong in his exegesis of Genesis, it is surely his point which he is making in the distinction between the Image and he Resemblance of God. It also is found in Brunner's distinction between he formal and material Image. The relation between the two is however ne of great delicacy. It is possible either to reduce the material to the ormal as in idealistic thinking. In this case the Image becomes the spirit f man and Natural Theology takes precedence over a theology of evelation. On the other hand, there is a danger of the invasion of the eld of the formal image by the material with the object of enhancing he act of God by reducing or annihilating what is proper to man. rofessor Cairns finds (not wholly justly) the former tendency in St. homas Aquinas whom he accuses of taking rather more from Aris- otle than the requirements of a sound theology might warrant. Nature eeds not so much to be perfected as to be restored by Grace, for nature not left unimpaired by the Fall.

Professor Cairns tries hard not to fall in the contrary danger. The mage of God is in fact contained in man's own nature. This has a ouble aspect as endowment and response. In each case the whole of an's self-hood is involved. It is to the whole of man that the general evelation of God is given and the Divine confronts the whole of man his predicament. From this irreducible minimum, man can be led om the formal image to the material, from the image in the Old Testament sense to the full glory and stature of the New Testament meaning of the term.

Some readers might still feel that for the author despite his bes endeavours the material image has "spilled over" into the formal, and be disposed to explore somewhat further the notion of "the relics of the Image" which Professor Cairns himself points out as a "live option" or even perhaps to a less one-sidedly intellectualist restatement of the position of St. Thomas Aquinas.

If, however, a note of caution should be raised on behalf of those who are neither existentialists in philosophy nor theologically followers of Neo-Calvinist scholasticism, this is emphatically a book to read and to ponder. To travel with Professor Cairns is an enriching experience and every attentive reader will recognise his work as the product, no only of wide theological learning, but also of deep spiritual insight The author deals with vital issues and he would be well repaid if others took up the question, even if the answers which they might be led to give would in some respects differ from his own.

H. E. W. Turner

CANON LAW

Western Canon Law. By R. C. Mortimer, Lord Bishop of Exeter.
A. & C. Black. 7s. 6d. (paper cover, 5s.).

A series of lectures delivered in America in 1951 form the contents of this book. The brevity of the title is perhaps a little misleading, for as a treatment of western canon law it is slight, but the author states his main purpose as "to provide Anglican Ordination candidates in particular and the Anglican clergy and laity in general with an introduction to this subject." So regarded it fulfils its purpose, and is a good and useful book.

Except for E. G. Wood's *Regal Power of the Church*, little has been written by Anglicans on canon law in recent times except historically. This is unavoidable, for the knowledge and practice of the canon law have long since been neglected by us. But although the Bishop of Exeter has to devote his space largely to history, he is not merely historical. He does bring out the importance of canonical principles. He states that the ancient law contains the fundamental principles of Church Order, and his words that "a closer study of this ancient law will be amply repaid in a deeper and clearer understanding of what the Church is" are to be emphasized.

Perhaps it is not unfair to be critical in two points—the general statement that canon law means laws or canons passed by councils, and so may be said to have begun with the Council of Nicaea in 325, and his treatment of the canonical force of custom.

Canonists look to our Lord for the origin of the Church's hierarchical power, and find unwritten laws and customs as largely the early eans of its expression So it is "jus" not "lex", a governing principle ot a collection of rules. E G. Wood, the most learned of our Anglican nonists of recent times, was always emphatic in denying that knowdge of canons made a canonist, for the requirement was ability to terpret and apply them in the practical necessities of the Church's life. he Bishop would agree with this, and he himself illustrates it.

As for the force of custom, the Bishop details the principles under'ing it, but seems to use it rather lightly to defend some of our anomalies. anonical custom is largely the basis of unwritten law, and it finds written pression as law comparatively seldom. It cannot easily oppose positive nactments. The writer of these remarks had occasion some years ago toil through registers of papal letters and the like to find mention of nglish customs of canonical importance; he found only thirteen. Custom a principle is one thing, but canonical customs valid against the general non law are few. The Bishop seems too lenient with some of our stoms to-day, giving them a canonical dignity they scarcely deserve. e thinks of Mothering Sunday and the Harvest Festival as so customary at a refusal to hold them might lead reasonably to a conviction for egligence. E. G. Wood never kept a Harvest Festival (he said he would ot until the Church recognized Corpus Christi), and Mothering Sunday not so very general. It is at least arguable that the present use of charistic vestments amongst us arises from something more than customary permissive use. The imprisonments under the Public Worhsip egulation Act, 1874, were suffered for something more than that, for eir use was contended for as both lawful and commanded. The comromise provided in the abortive revision of the Book of Common Prayer, 927/8, and in the proposed canons of the present revision, is based on isting practice, but it might be resented if present practice were asserted be merely custom.

The Bishop rightly says there is no such thing, in the strictest sense, English canon law, but that, of course, is when the term is used for mething else than provincial law. Perhaps the Bishop hardly gives yndwood's *Provinciale* a sufficient importance as an authoritative lawok in England, for it was accepted—both text and gloss—by the two nvocations. The Bishop, following the steps of the late Professor . W. C. Davis, rightly exposes the false statements of certain preambles the Henrician statutes of the sixteenth century, but these statements rgely determined the fate of canon law in England. Its subjection to the yal authority and the statute law became, and continues to be, the urce of such difficulties as there have been between Church and State, d are to-day. Developments have led to the democratic outlook, for e idea of the assent of the laity to canonical legislation is something e canonists knew not. Even our Lower Houses of Convocation have ivileges that go beyond the canonist's outlook. Hence it is difficult metimes to-day to be loyal to the canonical principles of the past, unless, with the Bishop, we can find an Anglican standpoint to satisfy us

The Bishop's little book is a help on to an understanding of ou Church's present work on the canons, a work every ordinand shoul know something of, and this book should be in his hands.

P. G. Ward

A STUDY IN THE GOSPELS

Jesus, Master and Lord. A study in the historical truth of the Gospels. By H. E. W. Turner, M.A., B.D., Lightfoot Professor of Divinit in the University of Durham. 377 pp. Mowbray's. 21s.

Theological students comprised one of the groups of readers speciall in Professor Turner's mind when he wrote this book (clergy and teacher were the others) and, as in private duty bound, I propose to review th book from their point of view, or at least from the point of view of on constantly in touch with them.

Let it be said at once that Professor Turner has given us a boo which can hardly fail to be the standard book on the Gospels for ordination candidates for some years to come. It is the first time—so far as I can recall—that we have had available one volume containing a discussion of the basic literary and historical questions connected with the Gospels, and also a real account of the "life and teaching of Jesus", as far as that is known to us. In other words the book adequately covers the Gospels paper for G.O.E., and although that may be the least of its merits, it must be gratefully noted at the outset.

The book is divided into five parts, naturally unequal in length. Part I considers the documentary evidence for the life of Jesus. Here, as indeed throughout the book, Professor Turner is sane and sensible. He accepts the priority of Mark (strange that it should be necessary even to comment on this fact!) and the existence of Q, and he holds in a "suspense account"—to use one of his own vivid expressions—Proto-Luke and a special written source for Matthew (Streeter's "M"). He provides an excellent and balanced account of Form criticism.

Part II deals with the question "Can we reconstruct the Ministry of Jesus from the Gospels?" and includes some of Professor Turner's most distinctive writing. He has little sympathy with those schools of interpretation which would allow us no real knowledge of the sequence of events in our Lord's life, though he is thoroughly familiar with the difficulties which have to be faced. It has always seemed to me that the fact that all the Gospels begin with the birth or baptism, and all end with the death and resurrection, justifies a strong *prima facie* assumption that the material in between is meant to bridge the gap, and has some credibility even as a time-sequence. Professor Turner reaches the same conclusion, and is bold enough to risk "an historical sketch" of our Lord's life in one very well-written chapter. Such attempts have been out of fashion lately, and apart from cranky literary efforts, we have had few since Sanday's still useful *Outlines of the Life of Christ.*

Parts III and IV treat respectively of the Person of Jesus Christ (under the headings Teacher, Wonderworker, Messiah, Son of the Father) and of the teaching (the headings are, The Kingdom of God, the Beloved Community, the Love of God and the Service of Man—this last is a brilliant piece of writing). Part V brings the book to an end with a chapter on the Resurrection.,

The whole book is balanced, reasonable, and constructive. It contains all sorts of useful things not always found in such volumes. For instance there is a quite full treatment of Hebrew parallelism in the chapter on Jesus as a Teacher, while chapter XI (on the ethical teaching) begins with a brief introduction to ethics which students will find very useful not only for the Gospels paper, but also for that on Ethics. Canon Turner's usual method is to classify authorities on the respective sides of each great question (e.g. Miracles, Eschatology) and then to make a judgement between them— not usually an "either-or", but a "both-and" kind of judgement. Sometimes perhaps we might have been spared quite so much consideration of other writers' views, for the student is apt to think that progress lies in learning many views, to which he will now add Canon Turner's. Students need to be reminded that nine-tenths of all that is known about the Gospels and the life of Jesus is to be found on the pages of the New Testament itself, and that its careful study and co-ordination will pay rich dividends. In this connection it would have been convenient if Professor Turner could have found room for some simple contents-tables of the Gospels. The only other omission I have noted is the actual quotation of the Papias fragments—it would have been handy to have them in this volume.

One or two tiny points of friendly criticism may be allowed. At times the very rapidity of Professor Turner's mind and pen lets him down. He ought not to have told the Schweitzer-Streeter story twice in one volume, nor quoted his "Passing soon" couplet twice over! It was Martha, not Mary, who said the words quoted from St. John xi, 27 on p. 188. And the writer's vigorous, pictorial language—a great attraction in his writing and lecturing—sometimes gets the better of him—e.g. "Craggy difficulties taken as fixed points produce lop-sided theories". This is one of a number of metaphors which, just because they are so vivid, cannot escape notice when they contain mutually exclusive elements.

Canon Turner does not claim "deep originality" for his work, but in the selection, proportion, and critical examination of his material he has shown real creativity. The book deserves and will doubtless gain many thoughtful readers, not only among "Theological Students" in the technical sense, but among those of all ages who love the Gospels and want to understand them better.

R. R. Williams

FROM RITSCHL TO BARTH

A THEOLOGY OF TRANSITION. By JAMES W. LEITCH. pp. 216. London: Nisbet. 1952. 15s.

THIS book is a contribution at once to the history of theology and to theology itself in the strictest sense of the word. It is an examination of the work of the Scottish theologian H. R. Mackintosh (1870-1936), perhaps best known to English readers for his own fine work of history and theology, *Types of Modern Theology*; and in particular of the movement of his mind from a liberal theology strongly influenced by Ritschl to a position very close to that of Barth. Many theologians must have made a similar journey during the last half-century, and perhaps many readers of this book will live over their own past as they follow Mr. Leitch's able and sympathetic exposition. The book therefore has great interest as history; and the two long chapters which form the heart of the book, "The Fundamental Principles of Dogmatic" and "The Concept of God" are not only a careful exposition of Mackintosh's own thought, but can also stand in their own right as theological writing.

Early in his career Mackintosh rebelled against the prevailing British philosophical tradition of modified Hegelianism, and found himself powerfully attracted to Ritschl. The main ground of his rejection of Hegelianism was the difference between the religious teaching built on it and that of New Testament Christianity. Perhaps the Calvinist tradition of the Free Church in which he had been brought up had made him suspicious of any kind of religion which blurred the transcendence of God and exalted man and his progress. His own acceptance of Ritschl was as gradual as the general reception of him. Speaking of Ritschl's reception in this country, Mackintosh wrote:

> "In our own country his system, or more correctly, his leading principles, have encountered that ordeal of rapidly modified criticism which is so peculiarly English when Englishmen are confronted with a new fact. In a situation so difficult they first say, ' We never heard anything like this before '—which is meant to be final. After a second look, ' It is contrary to the Bible '. Then at last, ' We knew it all the time '."

From Ritschl he moved towards the position nowadays described as "Barthian". The extent of his change of mind can be illustrated by his treatment of some characteristic Ritschlian beliefs. For Ritschl, religion was essentially the answer to man's moral needs; and this was the first point in his teaching that Mackintosh questioned. He came to believe that religion is essentially communion with God, and that the divine aseity must not be so limited as to make God a means to an end, even though the end be the ethical perfection of man. He came gradually to the belief in which Calvinist and Catholic are at one, that God the Blessed Trinity is primarily to be enjoyed.

Mackintosh found, too, that Ritschl's concept of Christianity as an historical religion was inadequate, for it excluded any effective belief either in the pre-existence or the present sovereignty of Christ. The one became a symbol and the second a posthumous influence. Mackintosh was not satisfied: "It is good to bind theology to historical revelation, but it is too much of a good thing also to bind the revelation to history."

In Ritschl's thought the kingdom of God was central; a kingdom realised in and through the events of the world of everyday experience, and discernible through the essentially moral act of entering it. This moral concept of the kingdom yielded in Mackintosh to an eschatological one, of a kingdom which embraced "both the spiritual and the natural order—the complete and final sovereignty of the Father over all creation which is to be manifested at the last but is even now a present fact for faith".

These were radical departures from Ritschl. In other matters the change was less drastic. He agreed with Ritschl in practically rejecting natural theology. He was suspicious of philosophy, regarding its function as confined to helping the theologian in "the task of thinking out in the obedience of faith whatever 'speculative' doctrines the service of Christ requires". And with Ritschl he rejected all mysticism which speaks of an individual losing himself in God; although unlike Ritschl he accepted the scriptural teaching on the mystical union of Christ with His people.

Dr. Karl Barth concludes the preface he contributes to the volume with these words: "Is it not the case that in all ages proper theology has existed only as ' Theology of Transition '—in Latin, *theologia viatorum*? As such may it find also in the second half of our century, on both sides of the Channel, some representatives as earnest as the man to whose work this book is dedicated. Then there need be no fears for its future."

R. CANT

COLERIDGE

INQUIRING SPIRIT. A New Presentation of Coleridge from his Published and Unpublished Writings. Ed. by KATHLEEN COBURN. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 25s.

COLERIDGE ON THE GROWTH OF THE MIND. By DOROTHY M. EMMET. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. March* 1952. 7s. 6d.

THERE is a debt to Coleridge which has never been fully paid. Carlyle has written memorably of the influence which this "sublime man; who, alone in those dark days, had saved his crown of spiritual manhood" wielded among the "innumerable brave souls" who looked to him as a prophet. And this prophet, or magician, as Carlyle terms him, was in philosophy no friend of the prevailing empiricism of his day—was, indeed, an orthodox Christian and a theologian. For nearly a century, however, he suffered disparagement at the hands of materialist thinkers, and neglect by the orthodox, esteemed only by literary critics, a class whom, as Miss Coburn says, he always had doubts about. Now, at last, his writings are being sifted by hands competent to appraise his many-sided contribution, not only as a critic, but as an original and profound interpreter of philosophic truth.

Miss Coburn has done a service to literature by the writing of her book. In it she has prepared a collection of passages from the writings published and unpublished, which will make apparent the full range and depth of his extraordinary mind.

All well-read men know that Coleridge originated—in collaboration with Wordsworth—a development in English poetry. Many also know that his influence generally was great and permanent. Such was his reputation that a man who had heard him lecture on Shakespeare in 1812 thought it worth while to publish notes which he had kept, not immediately, but forty years later. To the philosopher Coleridge is known as the first English thinker who assimilated the basic ideas of Kantian thought. But from the considerable volume of writings in prose and verse very little is read to-day. The popular belief is that Coleridge wrote a few poems of the higest quality, and one or two amorphous works in literary criticism. And, as always, there is rather misleading talk about opium and bad health.

But a reader of Miss Coburn's collection will see that one more popular estimate calls for revision. It was not true that Coleridge's weakness crippled all achievement although some of his own ruthless self-criticism has left that impression. His productivity was great. Twelve major works were published during his lifetime and fifteen more have been published since his death. And there is much still in manuscript, part of which has been given to the world in this book.

It was not Coleridge's way to pursue success by careful pains about presentation of his work. He has made known his feeling about that. He says in the *Biographia Literaria* that material success was never a factor which weighed with him in his literary work. But it is erroneous to suppose that his writing was always tentative, obscure and exploratory. There will be found in this book passages of nervous, balanced prose which could not be bettered. Quotation is impracticable, but we would refer the reader to a passage on Music, No. 178; his description of the ascent of Scafell, No. 186; his remarkable studies of contemporary leaders like Nelson, Pitt, Napoleon, Robespierre. Of Robespierre he wrote: "If however his first intentions were pure, his subsequent enormities yield us a melancholy proof that it is not the character of the possessor which directs the power, but the power which shapes and depraves the character of the possessor . . . Enthusiasm, even in the gentlest temper, will frequently generate sensations of an unkindly order." The whole passage analysing the psychology of a tyrant is worthy of Tacitus. "Those loud-tongued adulators, the mob, overpowered the lone-whispered denunciations of conscience—he despotized in all the pomp of patriotism, and masqueraded on the bloody stage of revolution, a Caligula with the cap of liberty on his head." Robespierre is not the last of his kind.

On another page we find an effective comparison of Napoleon with the three Caesars, Julius, Augustus and Tiberius. It is the penetrating portrait of a contemporary. But more attractive still is the admirable portrait of Nelson, whose services not only to the country, but to the navy itself Coleridge is well able to substantiate. He records the universal sorrow evinced on Nelson's death. Common devotion to a great leader he says, attuned the hearts of all men to each other when Nelson fell—"yea, many a one was reconciled to his very enemy, and loved, and (as it were) thanked him, for the bitterness of his grief, as if it had been an act of consolation to himself in an intercourse of private sympathy". This is the very accent of a great historian.

Yet it is not as historian, or natural philosopher, or student of aesthetics that Coleridge stands pre-eminent in these pages. What he offered in these fields is only illustrative of that more rare and creative endowment which eventually shaped the religious and philosophical climate of his time. For this is not too great a claim to make if we ponder upon his ideas and influence in relation, on one hand, to Newman and, on the other, to F. D. Maurice.

Miss Coburn in an arresting introductory essay lays stress on the full significance of that new approach to reality which *Lyrical Ballads* was designed to embody. The *familiar* thing was to take on a new meaning: the *unfamiliar* was to give up its secret. And this far-reaching project was the outcome of a mind which constantly carried further the exploratory examination of its own growth.

For Coleridge had fully understood the implications of what, for want of a better term, must be called the psychological approach to intellectual problems. Sensitive to the first intimations of a new outlook apparent in the dawn of that revolutionary epoch and himself, in turn, capable of moulding that outlook he was very much aware of the force and implications of the Kantian metaphysic which refuted the empiricism of 18th century thought. That metaphysic—too technical for present discussion—constituted a radical change in the "nominalist" spirit of European thought as it had prevailed since the days of Ockham, the man who abolished all the assumptions of the traditional realist logic. To enlarge upon this achievement of Coleridge in its strictly philosophical aspects—adequately represented in Miss Coburn's book—must be left for another occasion, but it can be said that it was philosophy, and a metaphysical inspiration drawn in part from the Kantian revolt against Empiricism—in one passage it is called "the second triumphant coming in its genuine form of Realism"—which permeated these writings of Coleridge.

New light, also, is thrown upon the relation between the poet and the philosopher in Coleridge by Professor Dorothy Emmet in an article which appeared in the *John Rylands Bulletin.* Coleridge was much occupied with "long and exceedingly severe metaphysical investigations." These studies, says Professor Emmet, were directed to the discovery of the growth of mind and its conditions, and the relation between "the world without and the still more wonderful world within". Coleridge was from the first concerned to refute the empiricism of contemporar thought, and in this task found substantial help in the philosophy o Kant, in the interpretation of which he anticipated the general movemen of English thought by at least a generation.

This account of Coleridge's exploratory work on the growth of min opens a new vista. It is important to follow Coleridge in his profoun analysis of the creative growth of mind and of the conditions of suc growth. They are fully set out in Miss Emmet's valuable study.

A GREAT CONTEMPLATIVE

PLOTINUS. By A. H. ARMSTRONG. A Volume of Selections in a Nev English Translation. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

PLOTINUS, not a Christian, is nevertheless an eminent thinker of a schoo which influenced Christianity and had many adherents during the earl centuries of the Christian era. This school, known as the Middle Platonists, taught that the first principle of reality was a supreme Divine Min for which the Platonic forms or ideas were inherent. Like other disciples of Plato, Plotinus, a gifted thinker and a great contemplative, thought o himself as an expositor of platonic doctrine. But in fact he differs from Plato in important respects.

In the present volume Professor Armstrong has collected a number of short extracts from the *Enneads* from which the general reader may obtain a clear impression of this great and inspiring teacher.

The Editor has written a very useful introduction dealing with the Life of Plotinus, the Philosophical background, and with the main themes of the author's teaching. There is also a translation of the brief account which Porphyry wrote of his master's life.

This volume appears in an important series planned to make more widely known the thought and achievement of great religious and mystical teachers of every epoch and creed.

THE TRINITY

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. By R. S. FRANKS. Duckworth. 8s. 6d

THE latest volume in Duckworth's Theology Series enhances the already high standard which we have come to expect from it. Seldom can so short a book have been packed with so much information on its subject without becoming a mere catalogue of opinions. Dr. Franks has his own interesting and definite standpoint which he does not permit to obtrude unduly in his historical discussion though the discerning will be able to note traces of its presence in the critical comments which he makes from time to time. He is always aware of the cross-references between Trinitarian theology and Christology but it may be suspected that at times he draws them too closely together and that his less gifted readers may be encouraged to persevere in the already too high degree of confusion between the two doctrines which already exists in their minds. Still *abusus non tollit usum* and the interests of a tutor trying to help his pupils to keep distinctions clear and an acute and learned writer who believes himself to have seen a connexion which others have missed cannot be one and the same. Dr. Franks has an important point of his own to make upon the relation between the enhypostasia in Christology and certain forms of Trinitarian theology. This is certainly worth making and establishing if he can. It is to be wondered whether a book of this kind is quite the place to make it without further opportunity for its development.

Principal Franks opens with an admirable review of the New Testament evidence which succeeds in being a great deal more than a mere enumeration and discussion of the usual proof texts. The author touches upon the principal problems of the interpretation of The New Testament. In particular he has interesting things to say on the tension between Hellenism and Hebraism in the New Testament. Neither the radical nor the ultra-conservative is likely to be satisfied with his conclusions here. It is refreshing to find a somewhat more critical attitude to Oscar Cullmann than has latterly been the case. The difficult phrase "charismatic" is used of the New Testament writings. The term is not self-explanatory and we have to wait unduly long for an explanation of its meaning (p.166). Dr. Franks notes the use of the so-called hypostases in the Old Testament but perhaps hardly allows sufficiently for the possibility of a mere poetic personification.

The Patristic material is well marshalled and ably discussed. It would indeed be difficult to include more material without spoiling the balance of what is there. And there are in addition valuable *obiter dicta* which help the reader to get the perspective of the whole period. Four minor criticisms (and they are meant merely as minor criticisms) may be made. Dr. Franks accepts the view that there was a Binitarian theological tradition in the early Church without adding the kind of safeguards for which the non-specialist reader might expect. What were its motives? Was it more than a piece of theological shorthand? How was it reconciled with the Trinitarian Baptismal formula? The school of the two Theodoti and Artemon is called Dynamic Monarchian although there is no evidence that it held any particular phrasing of the doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead. Binitarian is a better description of their views. The terms "economy" and "economic" are used in connexion with the Trinitarian theology of Tertullian without the explanation which many readers would welcome. Although the description of his views is well presented, it will not be immediately clear why this particular description is given. There is an excellent discussion of the charge of subordinationism raised later against Origen and a careful judgement given, but a fuller exposition of the other pole of Origen's thought, the Eternal Generation of the Son, would have given a better perspective of Origen's thought as a whole. He was, as Dr. Franks fully explains, the ancestor of more orthodox divines than Arius.

The discussion of modern views is perhaps the best part of the book. It is well adapted to serve as an introduction to much beside the Trinitarian thought of the writers which it examines. Socinians and Deists are well discussed. The pages on Kant and Schliermacher are particularly succinct and informative. There is a shrewd and penetrating criticism of Dr. Hodgson's recent important work.

Dr. Franks' own view is revealed in a single sentence. "The Christology of Schleiermacher must be combined with the Trinitarianism of Aquinas as reinterpreted by Barth." If we would reach a satisfactory doctrine of the Trinity we must, like Schleiermacher, start with Jesus and never allow his humanity to pass out of sight. The frequent criticisms of the Christological doctrine of the enhypostasia which rightly or wrongly occupy a relatively large part in the last section of the book will not necessarily commend themselves to every reader. They would need more space to vindicate them than is appropriate to a work on the Trinity. Not everyone will recognise the close association with Trinitarian theology which Dr. Franks seems to discover. Trinitarianly he presses for an abandonment of what he calls "the social doctrine of the Trinity"—a term only explained with full clarity later on in the book. The Divine Persons are modes of being according to the Cappadocians (but did they mean what Dr. Franks imagines by the term?), St. Augustine and Aquinas. There is no intention on Dr. Franks' part of becoming either a Sabellian or a Socinian and he safeguards himself at all the most important stages of his argument. But there might be more to be said in favour of the so-called social view than he apparently allows. We can either start from the Divine Unity and work downwards or from the Plurality and work upwards. Dr. Franks has shown us the approach which he himself advocates. It is the dilemma in which human thought about the Being of God is caught that we need both approaches but that they obstinately fail to meet tidily in the middle. For the constructive part of his work Dr. Franks really needed a bigger book and it is to be hoped that he will be able to give it to us.

But in the meantime we cannot but be grateful for all that he has given us in this present volume. It is an excellent and reliable introduction of the type that has long been needed. It should become part of the normal reading for theological students and others who wish to understand more of the central doctrine of the Christian Faith.

H. E. W. TURNER

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent eview.

GENERAL

he Legacy of Persia. Ed. A. J. Arberry, Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 21s. (in U.K. only).

review of Persian history and culture which was long overdue. It is wing to historical conditions that the very considerable achievements f Persian science and art have never received just recognition. The ersians have left, through influencing their neighbours, a world-wide egacy.

lizabeth and Her Parliaments: 1559-1581. By J. E. Neale, Cape. 25s.

An important study, at once scholarly and attractive to the general eader, on the Parliamentary history of the period.

he Place of Hooker in the History of Thought. By Peter Munz. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 18s.

ooker's thought was a link in the process by which leading mediaeval deas were transformed to suit a contemporary setting. Hooker's debt o St. Thomas and Marsilius of Padua as well as to Aristotle and Plato s examined. *A review will follow.*

rincipium Sapientiae: *The Origin of Greek Philosophical Thought.* O.U.P. 25s.

book of interest and importance to all students of Greek thought nd philosophy.

Man in This World. By Hans Zehrer. Hodder and Stoughton. 25s.

remarkable study by a Christian thinker of learning and originality f man's present intellectual situation.

he British West Indies. By W. L. Burn. (Hutchinson's University Library). 196 pp. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

his work—of which a review is deferred—ought to be read and pondered. 'The forces which leaven and improve society, religion, learning, the xistence of a cultivated class, languished for lack of organisation and ontinuing interest. The Church of England, without any ecclesiastical uthority over the parish clergy nearer than the Bishop of London, vas an example of this tendency." These words, referring to the early 8th century, sum up the history of the West Indian colonies—an interesting ignificant, and at times tragic story.

he Archives of York Diocesan Registry. By the Rev. J. S. Purvis. St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 2. 2s. 6d.

his pamphlet issued by the Academic Development Committee of the

York Civic Trust contains an account of the great collection of document some of very great antiquity, which have been preserved in the Diocesa Registry. For centuries they remained inaccessible to scholars an historians, and while much remains, much has been lost.

It was not until 1939 that Mr. Purvis was invited by Archbisho Temple to examine, arrange and list the archives before their removal to new archive house, promoted by the Pilgrim Trust. The pamphlet aim to make known in what way the archives are now open to those wh should have access to them for study and to indicate what the searche may expect to find.

The Beginnings of the Parochial System. By G. W. O. Addleshaw. S Anthony's Hall Publications No. 3. 2s. 6d.
This, also, is a pamphlet issued by the Academic Development Committe York Civic Trust, the learned author being Treasurer of York Minste It may be recommended as a very interesting pamphlet on a little know topic, with guidance about further reading.

Robert Grosseteste. Bishop of Lincoln: 1235-1253. By J. H. Srawley 36 pp. Published by the Friends of Lincoln Cathedral. 3s.
This is number 7 of the valuable series of Lincoln Minster pamphlet published with Miss Kathleen Major as General Editor. Canon Srawley contributes this, his fourth—a very learned and interesting account of an outstanding scholar and ecclesiastical leader. Like so many great churchmen Grosseteste was a man of humble birth who found his way to Oxford—then beginning to grow in importance—and in 1214 he became Master of the Schools. *A full review is deferred.*

Trace Your Ancestors. By L. G. Pine. 144 pp. Evans. 8s. 6d.
The Editor of Burke's *Peerage* has written an excellent introduction to genealogical research suitable for any kind of reader. It will be especially appreciated by those who have never yet made the acquaintance of the repositories of our national records. Every chapter is rich with interesting information and wise comment. The parish registers founded by Thomas Cromwell in 1538 are an important source of information. They furnish the subject of a very readable chapter. The author pays a tribute to the clergy who in innumerable cases have helped him in spite of the tax on their time.

The Passing of Parliament. By G. W. Keeton. Benn. 202 pp. 21s.
This book deals learnedly and clearly with a burning topic. It may be summed up in the title of the first chapter: The Twilight of the Common Law. "Today, in Great Britain we live on the edge of dictatorship" says the author, who holds the position of Professor of English Law at University College, London.

To anyone old enough to have been brought up on the history of the Greek City State and Dicey's Law of the Constitution the constitutional trends of the last twenty years have been a constant anxiety. Everywhere we witness the triumph of policy over human rights. More and more he tribunal takes the place of the court of law, and compulsory powers verride individual rights. The function and limits of administrative aw—government not by parliament but by bodies to whom power has een delegated—is a question of profound importance to the Church. *review of this book—which should be compared with "The Road to Serf-om" by Prof. F. A. Hayek and James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution" —is deferred for a later number.*

he Significance of the Lollard Bible. By Margaret Deanesly. The Athlone Press. 23 pp. 2s.

n absorbing account of Wycliffe, his reasons for an English bible as n authority for church reform, of the Avignon papacy, the Great Scism nd other matters. *A review is deferred.*

eadership in Boys' Clubs. By J. P. Marindin. Social Science Studies. 75 pp. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.

he importance of youth organisations is now fully recognised and ncouraged by statesmen. This excellent handbook is written to assist hose who in other countries wish to follow methods for which this country s famous—the idea of voluntary social service as opposed to state ontrolled clubs. It is written by a worker at Lagos, and shows an ppreciation of conditions in a place where religions and races are umerous. The list of books on social work among boys is excellent.

THEOLOGICAL

he Names of Jesus. By Vincent Taylor. 179 pp. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

learned and penetrating work. The importance of these studies lies the fact that many of the names indicate the spontaneous reaction—in ttitudes of worship—evident in the early days of the Church. The names ave a history. The author terms them "the precipitate of Christology in s beginnings." The book illustrates the importance of the New Testa-ent for the study of the Person of Christ. *The Names of Jesus* contains e first series of Speakers' Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1951-52. *review will follow.*

aily Life in the Early Church. Studies in the Church Social History of the First Five Centuries. By J. G. Davies. 180 pp. Lutterworth Press. 16s.

study of Christian society in its daily life based on the abundant material reserved in the early Christian writers. The author who is Lecturer in heology at the University of Birmingham is already known for his ork on The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture.

he Christian Attitude to Other Religions. By E. C. Dewick. The Hulsean Lectures 1949. Cambridge University Press. 25s.

clear and well-informed survey of a topic which cannot be ignored, hatever view is taken. The author reviews in detail the policy and methods advocated by missionaries, and at missionary conferences. He was himself a missionary for 26 years in India and Ceylon, and can speak with knowledge of adherents of other faiths. He is also a student o the religious aspect of recent political movements.

The Christian Sacrifice. By W. Norman Pittenger. Oxford Universit Press. Geoffrey Cumberlege. 21s.

Dr. Pittenger, an Anglican on the staff of the General Theological Seminary, New York, has written an excellent treatise on the Holy Communion It will be read with appreciation by theological students and laymen.

The Confessions of St. Augustine. Bk. VIII. Edited and Translated by C. S. C. Williams. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 55 pp. 10s. 6d.

Recently Book VIII of the Confessions was made a set subject for the Preliminary Examination in Theology at Oxford. Mr. Williams ha written an admirable translation with brief notes and an introduction This introduction is of the greatest interest and the whole book will be valued by many besides those sitting for the examination.

Christian Faith and Natural Science. By Karl Heim. S. C. M. Press 250 pp. 21s.

We have not seen a comparable achievement in the field indicated by the title, based as it is upon a thorough understanding of scientific thought.

The Transformation of the Scientific World View. By Karl Heim. S. C. M. Press. 21s.

A theologian assesses the philosophical position of the physical sciences as they are studied today. It is to be hoped that others will study this thinker's able exposition.

More's Utopia. The Biography of an Idea. No. 5. History of Ideas Series. By J. H. Hexter. Princeton University Press. 171 pp. 20s.

A learned study of More's intention in the Utopia.

Interpreting Theology. 1918-1952. By Daniel Day Williams. S. C. M. Press. 158 pp. 10s. 6d.

The author is Associate Professor of Christian Theology in the Chicago Theological Seminary and the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago. His book is a competent and lucid study of the notable developments in Theology during 40 years.

Systematic Theology. By Paul Tillich. Vol. 3. Nisbet. 25s.

This book has been described as a constructive attempt to make the truth of the Christian revelation intelligible and effective in terms of modern experience. Many readers will already be acquainted with the eminent author. His theology was the subject of an article by Mr. R. H. Daubeny in our issue No. 299: Vol. CL.

The Old Testament: A Conspectus. By Theodore H. Robinson. The Colet Library of Modern Christian Thought and Teaching. 165 pp. Duckworth. 8s. 6d.

Recent trends in appreciation of the Old Testament have been accompanied y a need for the fruits of modern research in regard to dates, authors, ircumstances of composition and textual criticism. This has been urnished in a manner both authoritative and very interesting by Dr. Robinson, Emeritus Professor of Semitic Languages at Cardiff University. *A full review is deferred.*

Foolishness to the Greeks. By T. R. Milford. S. C. M. Press. 112 pp. 6s.

As the author says in the eighth chapter it is emphatically not possible oday to speak about God without any concern for the logic of theology. This book is—what we have needed so often—an exposition of Christianity ntended to "invite outsiders in, and to help those who are already inside o explore their heritage." *A review will be published in due course.*

The Servant-Messiah. A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus. By T. W. Manson. Cambridge University Press. 104 pp. 10s. 6d.

A noteworthy series of six lectures delivered both in America and at Cambridge. The eminent author's subject is described as "the fundamental ontradiction between the Jewish Messianic hope and Jesus's convictions oncerning his own ministry."

The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza. Translated from the Latin, with an Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. (Vol. i and ii bound as one). Dover Publications, New York. 420 pp. $3.95.

An exact reproduction of the well-known edition published by Bell in 883. There is a valuable Bibliography.

AN O.T. BOOK LIST

THE new Book List for 1953 of the Society for Old Testament Study is ow ready and may be obtained price 5/- from the Rev. Prof. G. Henton Davies, Melrose, Church Street, Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham. This is a most useful and valuable publication of 88 pages containing as t does as complete a list as possible of all books of any value to Old Testament students which have been published since the last issue of the ist. The concise notes are an excellent guide to the reader, and cover ooks on Archaeology, Texts, Exegesis, Philology, etc., etc. ad libitum. Prof. H. H. Rowley deserves the gratitude of many Old Testament tudents for the way in which he, with the help of some 30 other members, as edited and brought out this excellent and helpful book. The pubications of well over 200 authors are included in it.

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Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the ournal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

FISHERS OF MEN

THERE have been reports of late which point to a turn of the tide. Vast multitudes still ignore religion, or, at least, show no apparent readiness to practise it. But there are slight indications of a changed attitude among the general public. Yet by and large any candid observer is forced to the conclusion that the impact of the Church upon contemporary life is far less than it should be. It is difficult to view without impatience those who by their lives, interests and expressed sentiments betray a mood of complacency about the state of Christianity in this country.

Evangelism is required *now*, and evangelistic work must be so planned that it will meet the needs of every section of society. The complexities of an immense population, gathered within the narrow confines of a small island, involve a great variety of human types.

We would direct the attention of readers of this journal to a book* by Canon Peter Green. It is inspired by both wisdom and experience. The late Rector of St. Philip's, Salford, pleads for more parochial missions. He writes with the knowledge and insight born of a long ministry and of practical work as a missioner in many past missions.

Parochial missions often form the subject of disparaging reference in educated circles. Canon Green knows this. He discusses the opinion of a prominent Churchman who does not believe in evangelistic missions. " What was wanted today, he said, was not appeals to the emotions, but teaching addressed to the mind." In this journal certainly the emphasis has been laid upon the intellectual task—upon the conversion of the man who is accustomed to the habits of abstract thought. We still hold that in that field too little is done, and that we

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**Fishers of Men. A Call for Parochial Missions.* By Canon Peter Green. (Mowbrays 5s.)

re failing today to combat a general scepticism about the Christian faith which is embedded in popular thought. We believe that in Jesus of Nazareth the Word was made flesh and hat in consequence of this revelation all human thought, and ll mundane values, have undergone a drastic reorientation. But the world today thinks this a fantastic claim; and the poor ffort of many supposed members of the Church points to the urgent need of greater intellectual exposition. For to some of hem the Incarnation means little.

But, for all that, it remains true that evangelism cannot ucceed by means which are solely intellectual. The basis of all human effort is emotion. It is no fault in parochial evangelism that it appeals to the emotions. Canon Green rightly declares that all action is dependent upon emotion, and the point is beyond dispute. Yet it is not sufficiently recognised. Every man knows that his own intellectual interests are conditioned by emotional attitudes, however complex and obscure hese may be. Yet the emotional factor receives no attention.

For the main task which lies before the Church today it s difficult to see how any progress can be made without appeal to the emotions of the ordinary public. This means the parochial mission, on lines which are pretty well understood by those who have the appropriate experience. Canon Green in his book provides an effective account of the parochial mission and of its value. He speaks from the long experience of a priest who has worked in many missions. He is also, as most of us know, a gifted theological writer and apologist whose books and contributions to the Press are eagerly read by a wide lay public. For the more special requirements of a teaching mission there is none better qualified. When, therefore, an experienced priest, who is also one of the Church's most capable intellectual guides, issues an appeal for parochial missions his words deserve the most careful attention.

While the parochial mission is of prior importance, there s no reason for neglecting other forms of mission. We should ike to see more effort on the lines of the Church Week held at Ealing, near London some years ago. The impact then, re-nforced by a group of scholars, was directed to men's minds. To deprecate the mission is tantamount to an acceptance of failure. It is a surrender to unbelief.

NOTES

DR. GARBETT'S EPISCOPAL CHARGES

It is to be hoped that the Archbishop of York's book, *The Church o England Today,* will be read by many. It contains seven episcopa charges, covering a wide range of important subjects. Amongst many urgent topics Dr. Garbett includes a chapter on Teaching and Preaching. He offers evidence which must raise doubts in many minds as to whether " our Church is giving the teaching, the worship, and the life which will help men and women in days of anguish and loneliness."

No leader in our time has done more in his books and public addresses to emphasize the necessity of teaching the Faith, and the nature of the task which is entailed in communicating it to a public quite unfamiliar with theological terms and concepts. " I would most solemnly urge the clergy, both young and old, to take heed to their studies, and to remember the exhortation addressed to them at their ordination. . ."

The teaching office of the Church is vital. Never was it more important. But from all sides we are receiving evidence that little reading goes on. Educated laymen are very critical of the preaching which is offered. The recent expansion of theological studies is not reflected in parochial circles, nor do many preachers show a capacity to discuss the issues involved. What the Archbishop has written should be studied in conjunction with the article in our July number of this year on Training for the Ministry which came from the well-informed pen of the Regius Professor at Oxford.

THE BIBLE AS PREACHING

Dr. Farmer, the Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, discusses in a lecture* the task of the preacher who must deliver the Christian message in a way that will make it impressive to a modern reader while making use as his medium of communication of a book which reflects the ideas and outlook " of a distant, strange and long since vanished world."

It may be admitted that the deep religious experience of mankind does not change and that the great truths contained in the scriptures are not altered by the passage of time. What we read in the Psalms, in the Prophets and in the New Testament will never stale. To the receptive reader it is still moving and potent. Inexhaustible to the thinking Christian. But still the difficulty of communication in a changing world is there.

**The Bible as Preaching.* By H. H. Farmer. The Bereau Press, Birmingham. 12. 2s.

This task of communication cannot be ignored. Failure to interpret at a philosophical level the teaching of the Bible to a world which has become accustomed to other more abstract, and often conflicting, trends of thought is a great fault in much of the preaching today.

There are, also, becoming apparent now certain practices and trends which foster among the younger clergy an indifference to this urgent need of effective communication. It is insisted that theology must be really based on Biblical exegesis. The efforts made in the past to translate the Christian gospel " into the idiom of modern fashions of thought " have led to error. There has of late been a salutary reaction against a naive modernisation (all the more timely because it is today not at all certain what the postulates of contemporary thinking actually involve) and a widely felt need to go back to the actual message of the scriptures. But with this appropriate and illuminating study of the thought of the Bible there is noted at times an obscurantism,—dogmatic assertion of truths which are barely understood.

The Bible is our standard. But it cannot be used in isolation from the faith and life of the Church: and that faith and life, although informed by the Biblical documents, *transcends* what is in those documents. Even the holy writers were themselves subject to the limitation which affects all verbal description of the ineffable—of that which is dimly apprehended without conceptual formulation. " The question of the significance and authority of the Bible can only be answered on the basis of our general understanding of that Christian faith and life with which it constitutes an organic unity," writes Dr. Farmer.

When the preacher "takes his stand upon the Bible he does no more than take his stand upon the central and distinctive Christian affirmation of the divine *in-historisation* in Christ."

FREEDOM TO STUDY

Some attention has been given recently to the important question of the functions of a university. A quinquennial congress of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth has met at Cambridge, more than 100 universities being present. There were present, also, representatives of the American Universities.

Much discussed is the effect on universities of the substantial grants which they have to receive from governments. Today in a changing world the direction taken by university studies inevitably hinges on the pressure of funds. Public money can be beneficial to learning, but it must be the task of the universities themselves to decide how such money is to be used. We have learnt in modern times a good deal about state interference. For the health of a nation, academic independence is crucial. No doubt statesmen everywhere recognise this fact. But it may not be so self-evident to those who vote the money. There is some ground for anxiety in the present trend of university development. Immense financial aid is being given to the needs of scientific research. The consequences cannot be ignored

Much of the best talent is attracted to specialised studies, but suc studies are not sufficient for a complete education. They are occupie with means rather than ends.

POETS AND MYSTICS

STUDENTS of English mysticism will find much in Mr. E. I. Watkin *Poets and Mystics* which is not available elsewhere. And the fruit this writer's work is always illuminated by a profound grasp of h subject formed, as we gather, during a life-long study of the mystic classics. Mr. Watkin is not only a student of mystical theology. H approach to the great contemplatives is reinforced by a wide knowled of literature and by a matured philosophical discipline. One of t chapters in this new volume contains a penetrating appreciation of t poetry of Miss Ruth Pitter in which he finds a philosophical vie which may be termed Platonist.

Many readers will be glad to learn more of Dame Julian Norwich, Augustine Baker, Margery Kempe, John Smith and other whose writings receive expert exposition in this book. Mystics a valued by many today who have learnt to appreciate such unquestio able testimony to a union with the Godhead. Mr. Watkin points o that there must be repetition in writers who are all endeavouring communicate an experience which is substantially the same,—a unio with God which " is experienced as transcending every image or con cept, blinding with its ' light inaccessible ' the weak vision of morta man." Yet as the mystical writers differ in the degree of their ex perienced union with God, and in other ways, " it is far from tru that to read one mystic or even one Catholic mystic is to read all."

THE ALCUIN CLUB

IT is good news that the membership of the Alcuin Club continues t grow. But more members are needed in order that it may fulfil it task of promoting by books published and by other means the practica study of the English liturgy. During half a century it has issued som eighty publications.

In the present year the Club is pushing forward the publicatio (by S.P.C.K.) of *Walter Howard Frere*: *his correspondence o Liturgical Revision and Construction* edited by Rev. R. C. D. Jaspe B.D. This book of correspondence (out and in) is divided into tw main sections. The first deals with Dr. Frere's contribution to attemp at Prayer Book revision in England between 1906 and 1935. Th second deals with the part he played in the creation of Liturgies other parts of the Anglican Communion.

Another work to the appearance of which many will look forwar is *The Liturgical Movement*: *its origin and growth* by Dr. J. H Srawley, Canon of Lincoln. Dr. Srawley's scholarship is alread recognised by many who have read his writings both on liturgical sub jects and on ecclesiastical history. Mowbrays are the publishers.

THE CHURCH TEACHING QUARTERLY

CHURCH Teaching Quarterly is a good journal which publishes articles by able specialists in religious education, but, like some other Church publications intended for the cultivated reader, it is greatly in need of more support. Why does the Anglican communion show so little concern for its publications? Reasons will occur to everyone, but they are not good reasons. There is something wanting in a society which cannot maintain even a small number of journals concerned with the more serious problems. The Editor of this admirable, but slender, quarterly occupied with education issues a warning note in his Summer number (Vol. XII, No. 43), referring also to the suspension of the *Guardian*. There is an actual possibility that in a few years' time the Church of England will in this country be without any technical periodical of representative importance. And yet the public for religious literature is not negligible. The number of religious and philosophical books published in this country every year runs into four figures.

One of the topical and urgent problems handled in the Church Teaching Quarterly arises out of a discussion of the Agreed Syllabus in religious education and the necessity of welding together the non-sectarian, but perfectly sound, teaching often given in state schools with the life of a worshipping community. Local Education Authorities are sometimes alive to this crucial issue. It is occupying the minds of those who approach education from the point of view of the ecumenical movement, and the writer of the article is the Rev. E. C. D. Stanford, Education Secretary to the British Council of Churches.

Contact and co-operation between teachers, parents and local clergy is essential, but surely the main need is the right kind of teaching. Are there entering the teaching service enough sincere Churchmen?

A COMMONWEALTH SERVICE

THE situation of the Colonial Service is giving occasion for some far-seeing speculation. Circumstances have altered eventfully since the early days of the service in Malaya, Ceylon and West Africa, and even since men still serving first accepted posts as District Commissioners or Political Officers in the 'twenties. In those days the administrative services were essentially an experiment and any tentative formulation of a policy was the outcome of practice and error—empirical rather than scientific or philosophical. Great things were done by men of various types drawn chiefly from the Army or the Universities and equipped with little more than integrity of character and common sense. There is scope for an able historian who would undertake research in the history and development of the Colonial Service. In a short time those who could tell much will have passed away.

To-day those colonies in which under men like Hugh Clifford, Lugard, or Slater so much valuable pioneering was accomplished are well on their way to self-government. As a special correspondent of the *Times* has said, " The writing is on the wall for the traditional colonial servant, and he is aware of the fact."

But there is still room in a self-governing commonwealth for a highly-trained body of men, inspired by a vision of the whole and versed in the best sociological thought, who could while moving freely from one colony to another act as a guide to those in the new dominions whose experience is still limited, and at the same time fertilise the intractable minds of those politicians at home who, although well-informed about domestic problems, are very prone to adopt illusory and ignorant policies when they look beyond their accustomed horizon Such a service would, if properly trained and organised, reap a rich reward overseas, while helping the mother-country to form enlightened views. Had it existed in the past we should have seen a very different picture in Empire development, and some of our worst blunders would have been avoided. There would never have been, for example, such a manifestation of blindness and incompetence—unworthy of an imperial nation—as the East-African Groundnut scheme.

CHRONICLE

THE PICTURE FOR BERMUDA*

THE above title must not be taken literally in the geographical sense. At the time of writing it is not yet clear whether or not there will be a conference at Bermuda, as originally proposed by Sir Winston Churchill, but it is generally assumed that somewhere, and at some time in the not too distant future, a meeting will take place to discuss the present world situation. In any case, whether there is a meeting somewhere else or nowhere at all, the situation needs discussing, and not merely by statesmen or professional diplomats.

It is agreed, and has been proclaimed almost *ad nauseam* in the press, that now is the time for the three delegations to the Bermuda conference or whatever takes its place, and their official advisers in the Foreign Office, the State Department and the Quai d'Orsay, to do some more than usually hard thinking on a number of international problems. What is not so often proclaimed, but seems at least equally necessary, is that the general public in Britain, America and France, should do much more thinking than it has hitherto liked to do on the same subjects—not in detail, of course, but on those broad lines of principle on which alone the " man in the street " in every country is usually capable of thinking to any purpose. If the public does no such thinking, but allows itself to continue in its normal state of apathy punctuated by outbursts of emotion, not only may the statesmen find themselves without popular support for their plans when they need it most, like President Wilson after Versailles, but the reaction to these plans when they are publicly formulated may be of the same unreasoning nature which has already produced Bevanism in this country, McCarthyism in the United States, and in France the sort of defeatist " neutralism " preached in the columns of *Le Monde*—in which case the last state of the western world, after the conference, will be worse than the first state before it. The present article

* A quarterly survey can never be quite up-to-date in the rapidly changing international scene. But our account written before going to press remains substantially accurate.

is an attempt to assist this necessary but painful process of collective thinking.

The main question on which everyone, expert and ordinary citizen alike, has to make up his mind is, of course, how far there has been a change in Soviet policy since Stalin's death, what it means, and if so how the Western Powers can take advantage of it. That there has been some change is indeed obvious—the removal of prominent personalities like Rakosi in the satellite States, the reversal of the anti-Semitic persecution, the attempted *détente* with Jugoslavia and Greece, and above all the decision to deal with unrest in Eastern Germany, Hungary, etc., by economic concessions rather than by intensified repression, are enough to show tha different tactics, at least, are now in favour at Moscow. There is, however, no evidence to show that these changed tactics imply a change in principle or even in strategy, as Mr. Adlai Stevenson has pointed out; and though, at the time when Sir Winston Churchill proposed the Bermuda meeting, it was possible to maintain that there was no evidence to the contrary, such indications as have since appeared—like Moscow's renewed refusal to conclude an Austrian peace treaty on any reasonable terms and continued refusal to release the "Russian brides" (a comparatively small matter in itself, but one which is well known in the Kremlin to be regarded as a test case by British opinion)—tend to confirm the view always held by experts that the change was a change of tactics only, caused partly by the need for caution when the death of Stalin and the internal troubles of the satellite States were preoccupying the new rulers of the Soviet Empire and partly by the hope of taking advantage of the political confusion within more than one partner in the Western alliance.

For it cannot be denied that such confusion did then and does still exist in France, in Italy and in Western Germany. The position of Dr. Adenauer has been weakened and that of Signor de Gasperi perhaps fatally shaken; and as the Socialist opposition both in Germany and in Italy, though its real quarrel with the government in each case is over internal political and economic issues, proclaims its dislike of the European Defence Treaty and is joined in this by the extreme Right, there are opportunities for making mischief in both countries by Soviet gestures intended to give the impression that the treaty is unnecessary; while in France there is a whole complex of issues—the "European army", the Saar, the war in

Indo-China, the governmental crisis, etc.—which could be exploited to weaken French solidarity with the other Western allies. Last but not least, there is Korea, where Communist acceptance of a truce on modified " United Nations " terms has already paid ample dividends in the shape of President Syngman Rhee's defiance of the United Nations command and the resulting embarrassment of the United States government.

There is thus no reason to look beyond tactics to any real " change of heart " or even of strategy for an explanation of recent Soviet policy—indeed, the chief development in that policy on the home front, the " liquidation " of Beria and his supporters, may perhaps, as *The Times* has suggested, be an indication that rigid " Stalinism " is once more in the ascendant after a brief trial of milder measures, though of that it is still too early to judge—and consequently no reason to suppose that a Four-Power Meeting with the Russians would in itself produce any tangible results. Whatever may have been Sir Winston Churchill's personal intentions or hopes when he suggested that, it is an open secret that the Foreign Office had no great expectations of it then and has still less now. In their view and in that of the State Department the only direct results of such a meeting would be in the field of propaganda: each side would try to use it to put the other in the wrong before the bar of western and " neutral " opinion (opinion inside the Soviet Empire need hardly be considered in that connection) and, judging by previous experience of the gullibility of Western Socialists, at any rate, the Russians would stand the better chance of utilizing it for propaganda purposes. If, nevertheless, it is ultimately decided at Bermuda to offer to go to a Four-Power Meeting, it will be for a different reason—not because the meeting is expected to produce an agreement with Moscow, but because it is not until such a meeting has been held that certain sections of Western public opinion, particularly in France and in Germany, can be convinced that an agreement with Moscow is not a practical alternative to ratification of the European Defence Treaty.

The object of a Bermuda conference, in fact, will be, not merely to decide whether or not to meet the Russians or what to say to them at the meeting, but to discuss the much larger question of how to deal with the whole situation, or complex of situations, now developing along the whole " cold war front ", and especially in the two main " theatres of war " (hot and cold), Germany and the Far

East—a situation already very different from what it was at the beginning of the year and full of obscure points and interesting possibilities.

In Germany the East German revolt and its suppression have radically changed a psychological situation which had previously been developing rather unfavourably to Western interests. At the time when the rioting broke out Dr. Adenauer's government was running into increasing parliamentary difficulties over the ratification of the Defence Treaty; the French attitude on the Saar question was rousing German nationalist feeling; and at the same time the Socialist opposition could point to apparent signs of a change in Soviet policy as a reason for making another attempt to achieve German unity by agreement with the Communists. Now, however, the weakness of the Communist position in Eastern Germany has been revealed to the world, the West German Socialists have proclaimed their solidarity with the persecuted workers of the Soviet zone, and the belief in the possibility of an agreement with the East German Communists has received a blow from which it can hardly recover; but at the same time the desire for German unity has been so stimulated that it has become the chief theme of West German politics, and the Socialist leaders are now trying to capitalize it for their party's benefit by arguing that the Russians, having found their zone a liability rather than an asset, might throw over their puppet government and agree to really free elections if a reunited Germany were pledged to neutrality and the abandonment of the Defence Treaty. It is indeed conceivable that if Eastern Germany continues to give trouble some such offer may come from Moscow; and though it would not, of course, be sincere it might have its effect on the West German electorate.

Even without a Communist propaganda offensive of this sort Dr. Adenauer's prospects in the forthcoming elections are none too certain, and the Western Powers, to whom his continuance in office is of almost vital importance, will have to consider with special care, at Bermuda or even earlier, the probable reaction of the average German voter, not only to a Communist move but also to any fresh move on their own part, even if it would only affect Germany indirectly. Undoubtedly nothing would help Dr. Adenauer more at this juncture than a gesture by the French Government over the Saar; and though in the present state of French politics an immediate gesture may be too much to expect, it is to be presumed that its importance has not been overlooked in London and Washington. Apart from that, the most helpful line, if it can be pursued without falling into diplomatic traps, is to " steal the Socialists' thunder " by offering to discuss German unity with the Russians, as has now been done after the conference of Foreign Ministers at Washington. In any case, the fundamental consideration is to keep the Russians and the German Communists on the defensive, on to which they have been forced ever since the Berlin riots, and to do everything possible to make German opinion realize that German unity and freedom are not alternatives to the Western alliance but on the contrary are bound up with it and cannot be realized without it. To expect more direct results from a Four-Power Meeting on German unity at this time would indeed be wishful thinking.

On the Far East, the other main theatre of war—a really hot war in this case—the thinking of the " man in the street ", particularly in America, is more than usually confused, because the issue on which publicity is now focused, Korea, is no longer the issue of main importance. President Syngman Rhee has attracted nearly all the limelight, but in reality he has never had much more than a nuisance value, since it has always been clear to those who know the Communist mentality that if Peking and Moscow did not want a settlement in Korea they would not scruple to find an excuse for refusing one, and if they did want it they would not let President Rhee's actions or anything else stand in their way. Nor would a Korean settlement, in itself, alter the fundamentals of the Far Eastern situation.

The crux of that situation, in so far as it can be located in any particular region, is not in Korea but in Indo-China and also, in a sense, in Paris. Neither the political nor (until quite lately at least) the military situation in Indo-China has been developing favourably for the French; and the desire to cut their losses, to the probable growth of which we drew attention a year ago (see " The Far Eastern Situation ", October, 1952), has now found utterance within the French Cabinet itself. How to keep the Communists from overrunning Indo-China without calling on the French people for still greater sacrifices than those which they are now making and already consider too great, has become an even more urgent problem than it was last year. The solution now in favour in Paris, and apparently in Washington too, is to build up the local anti-Communist forces and stimulate their morale by the grant to the States of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos of " independence within the French Union ", or what we should call Dominion status. Whether this will provide a real solution, however, is by no means certain; and in any case the local forces will require large-scale assistance from French troops and American supplies for a long time to come. There is, in fact, no short cut to victory, here as elsewhere; nor is there a short cut to peace by a pact with the Communist rebels, such as some " wishful thinkers " in France have lately been advocating. A pact which left the Communists with their organization intact and in control of the territory they now occupy—and no other kind of pact will be acceptable to them if they remain undefeated—would merely give them a lever for overthrowing the non-Communist régime in their own good time.

Nor is it likely that the solution will be found at the political conference which is to follow the Korean truce. It is just possible, perhaps, that in return for a concession such as admission to the Council of the United Nations, the Peking government might give an undertaking to cease their aid to the rebels; but President Eisenhower has, rightly or wrongly, given pledges to Congress which will make it very difficult for him to offer any concession likely to appeal to Peking, and in any case the history of previous Communist promises shows only too clearly that Communism, like every form of totalitarian religion or quasi-religion, proceeds in practice on the assumption that " faith need not be kept with infidels or heretics ". We must take it, in short, that the rebellion will be kept going unless and until it is so clearly beaten in the field that Peking and Moscow feel it a waste of resources to go on feeding it, or until their attention is diverted elsewhere by some fresh and, in their eyes, more important development. This, no doubt, is very cold comfort for the French and not much less so for the Americans or ourselves; but it is the fundamental factor in the present Far Eastern situation, on which any plan for dealing with that situation must be based if it is not to be condemned to futility from the start, as so many plans have been already.

In the rest of the Far East the situation is still much as we described it last year—Japan temporarily stable but fundamentally unreliable, Malaya under control but not yet wholly pacified, Siam still governed by a military oligarchy which can suppress internal opposition but could hardly resist a serious attack from outside, and Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines struggling along under incompetent native governments unable even to keep order within a few miles of their capitals and cursed, in Indonesia especially, with a peculiarly virulent and unconstructive form of nationalism. Something, perhaps, may be done by economic aid to invigorate and rationalize these unstable communities, but fundamentally they will have to learn from experience, and since the process will be painful for others as well as themselves discussion of their problems at Bermuda is likely to turn on means of ensuring that no vital western interests are compromised by their political or economic vagaries.

The Near and Middle East, though not as yet a major theatre of war, either hot or cold, between the Communist and anti-Communist *blocs,* will doubtless also enter into the Bermuda discussions, if only because the tensions in that region, resulting, there as elsewhere in Asia, mainly from unhealthy developments of nationalism, are a source of weakness for the West. Here the British and French task will be to persuade the Americans that there is no ready-made solution for the troubles of these countries and that pronouncements such as those of Mr. Dulles after his recent tour of Arab countries do not—to put it mildly—make it easier to find one.

Neither here nor elsewhere, indeed, should hopes be pitched too high; and if we tend to think Americans gullibly optimistic over the Near East, we should remember that much of our press and parliamentary comment on the prospects of a Four-Power agreement after Sir Winston Churchill's speech sounded at least equally over-optimistic to Americans. As already stated, informed opinion in the Foreign Office and elsewhere in London never shared the public hopes in that matter; and now even in the Labour Party voices such as that of Mr. Denis Healey have been raised in deprecation of the wave of sentimental optimism which the speech engendered—a wave ominously like that which swept around Neville Chamberlain on his return from Munich. It suits the book of some politicians, particularly those of the Bevanite persuasion, to try to keep this optimism alive; but if they succeed they will be doing a grave disservice to their country's interests. For what is needed now, and what will be needed at Bermuda, is not a sentiment of optimism nor indeed a sentiment of any kind, but a calm and dispassionate appraisal of a situation which, though complicated and changeable, yet shows certain permanent features. The chief of these is the unchanging nature of Communist aims and, in essentials, of Communist strategy, which precludes the hope of a major settlement. It need not preclude the hope of local and provisional arrangements, as has been shown in the case of the Korean armistice and of the *modus vivendi* which has lasted in Berlin ever since the failure of the attempt to squeeze the Western allies out of that city; but even these were only secured after a process of very long and very hard bargaining, and the spirit required for success in that sort of negotiation is the very opposite of sentimental optimism. It is the spirit which, as the Scotchman said, expects " nothing for nothing and precious little for half-a-crown "; and however repugnant it may be to the generous soul of the British public to use a long spoon when supping with the Devil, we should do well, in foreign affairs as in all others, to remember Bishop Butler's words: " Things are what they are and their consequences are what they will be. Why then should we wish to be deceived?"

BITUARY

PAUL COUTURIER 1881—1953

THE funeral of Paul Couturier at Lyons on 27 March, 1953, might vell have been planned according to his own wishes. The requiem nass was sung at his beloved St. Bruno, the big rococo parish hurch attached to the school where he had spent most of his minstry; the Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Gerlier, presided at the ervice and preached the panegyric; and outside the church, aftervards, the calvinist Pastor de Pury and M. de Weymarn, director f the *services oecuméniques* of Geneva spoke in the name of the bbé's friends in the Reformed Church and the Ecumenical Movenent. If anything were missing that the Abbé himself might have vished, it was the presence of Anglicans; for he had many Anglian friends and it was through them that he was chiefly known in ngland.

He was born on 29 July, 1881, and ordained priest at Lyons in 1906. In 1907 he was appointed professor of elementary nathematics at the *Institut des Chartreux*, a large ecclesiastical chool in the buildings of the old Lyons charterhouse. He held his post until his failing health forced him to retire, except for a reak during the first World War when he served in the French rmy as an ordinary soldier. During the last war he was interned or some months by the Gestapo, and his health was doubtless mpaired by the experience. On the liberation of France he at nce sent a joyous telegram of gratitude to Archbishop Temple; he remainder of his life was more and more consecrated to his abours for the Unity of Christians.

Those who knew him during this last period will not readily orget his small wraith-like figure, with its boney, unaristocratic face hat would soften into a broad smile of radiant charity, and his arsh voice which yet sounded rich and warm when he declaimed lowly and precisely on the things of God. He lived near the centre f the city, sharing a flat with his sister in an apartment high up n the Rue du Plat. He retained his room at the Institute, where e kept his stocks of tracts and leaflets, together with a collection of nany of the souvenirs of his friendships with non-Roman Chrisians, especially a plaque with the IHS monogram after the pattern f St. Bernardino of Siena, and a large Protestant bible. He said Mass daily as long as he was able, often in the old basilica of St. Martin d'Ainay, until he was too frail to leave the house and was iven the privilege of a private oratory.

At the end this celebration lasted an hour every day, not only ecause of his weakness, but also owing to his intense recollection and devotion. And in this tiny and simple chapel made of wallboard he was still surrounded by mementoes of his friends. His only vestments were a blue and white set made and given to him by an Anglican community of contemplative nuns, who also made his Lyonese corporal. The crucifix on the table that served as an altar was a tiny Russian triptych, and beside it lay the pectoral cross and chain which were his one sign of ecclesiastical dignity, the insignia of an honorary archimandrite of the Greek Melkite Patriarchate which were bestowed on him a year before he died. The burse was also there, stuffed and bulging with souvenirs of those who were associated with his offering in prayer and friendship: letters and cards, ordination mementoes from Anglican as well as Roman Catholic priests the intentions of whose first Masses he had inspired, and, typically, a piece of Scottish white heather wrapped in cellophane.

His correspondence must have been enormous. During the latter years he had the assistance of a Dominican priest who acted as a part-time secretary. Yet in spite of prolonged bouts of serious illness, he never gave up. He was still writing letters of encouragement and counsel two days before his death from a severe attack of angina on 24 March, 1953, and he had already begun to talk of planning the January week of prayer for the following year.

Such homely and even sentimental details reflected the man and his soul. His zeal for the cause of ecumenism, and the depth and warmth of his friendships were immense; but the packed burse on the altar, and his breviary overful of cards and notes represented the way in which his whole life was sanctified by his continual offering of himself and all his friends in Christ to God, primarily through the Eucharist, but also in his dutiful office throughout the day. His love of the Mass was intense; he was perpetually concerned about the presentation of its doctrine to non-Romans, and constantly purveyed tracts and typescripts about it. Six months before his death he said that his chief regret was that he had never been able to write a book on the Mass. At the time he was giving to a young Anglican, on the eve of his ordination to the priesthood, an exposition of the words *Te igitur, clementissime Pater.* The choice of text was characteristic: he was less concerned to adore Christ present in the Eucharistic mystery than he was to join with him in His high-priestly worship of the Father of tender mercy. It was precisely in those terms that he couched his teaching on prayer for Christian unity, and in that spirit that he tried to direct the observance of the January Week of prayer which will always be associated with his name.

His interest in the problems of unity was first stimulated by his contacts with Russian Orthodox refugees in Lyons, for whom he helped to organise a chapel, and with whose priests he came into close personal contact. In 1932 he visited the still young priory f the Benedictines of Reunion at Amay in Belgium, and a year ater became one of their secular oblates with the name of Benoit-renee, the second half of which provided the pseudonym under vhich he wrote many of his unity pamphlets. In 1932 he also rranged for Fr Valensin, S.J., to preach a triduum for unity in yons, following it with the first solemn observance in the city of he Octave of Prayer for Unity, which had been founded by the merican Episcopalian Paul Wattson some years before, from 8 to 25 of January, 1933. From that year onwards he had leaflets nd tracts published annually for this octave, and arranged the ermons for his native city. He encouraged the use of the fine ass *ad tollenda schismata* from the Roman Missal, and had para-iturgies for unity composed and performed. He issued several rayercards, some of them with fine woodcut illustrations.

In 1937 he changed the terminology of his publications. The Octave of Prayer for Unity" became the "Week of Prayer for he Unity of all Christian People" (*La Semaine de l'Universelle rière des Chrétiens pour l'Unité Chrétienne*) and its intentions for he "return" of the various groups and confessions to the Church ecame intentions for their "sanctification". His justification of hese changes was published in England, France and America. He imed at making it possible for all Christians to join in the observnce of the week, by so phrasing the intention that everyone could ray according to his own conscience, so long as he prayed accordng to our Lord's Will. Since 1937 his publications have done little ut underline and develop the spiritual and practical implications f this principle. In them he has been concerned with religious oleration, with ecumenical events, with the presentation of Cathoic doctrine to Protestants and of Anglicanism to the French, but is greatest work has been the statement and diffusion of the mutual articipation of all confessions in the prayer of Christians for unity.

The concrete conception of unity expressed in such prayer was ecessarily less precise than was then normally current. *Qu'arrive 'Unité visible du Royaume de Dieu telle que le Christ la veut ! par es moyens qu'il voudra !* was the classic formulation of his prayer. t is unexceptionally orthodox, but it earned him misunderstanding n many quarters, Roman and Protestant. He was as sincere and onvinced of his own confessional position as he expected everyone lse to be, a loyal son of his own communion, who never acted withut the approval of his superiors—which may explain why he was o critical of the attitude of some Anglican papalists.

He saw clearly that perfect Charity is always held in reciprocal quilibrium by the fullness of the Truth, and thus he was saved from ndue sentimentalism on the one hand and from dogmatism on he other. But his own profound spirituality led him to speak nore of the needs of souls, of penitence and humility, of reparation nd praise, than of doctrinal issues. It is possible that in his eagerness to kindle the fire of prayer in the whole world by teaching it first ardently to desire the coming unity, and then leading souls to offer themselves completely in love for it, he did not always clarify all the theological points involved. But his motto was *Ex igne lux ut de luce ignis*: out of the prayer which he wished to see consuming the world he expected enlightenment to come, and to provoke even greater love.

He referred to those who had received this teaching into their lives as the "Invisible Monastery" throughout the world, offering unceasing prayer for unity, a spiritual community of those for whom dedication to this intention was the principal means of sanctification. He invented the term "spiritual emulation" to describe the deepest kind of spiritual friendship between Christians of different communions. (Like other words of his, *multiconfessionalism* and *parallelaboration*, the name does not immediately surrender its meaning.) One of the best known fruits of this teaching was the life of Mother Maria Gabriella Sagheddu, the Cistercian nun of Grottaferrata, whose last years and death on Good Shepherd Sunday, 1939, are an outstanding example of self-giving in the cause of unity; though latterly the Abbé himself was inclined to criticise her understanding of that cause, while continuing to rejoice in her sanctification and example.

The width of his acquaintance effectually separated the Abbé Couturier from the ranks of the professional ecumenists. The vocation to pray and work for unity was for him part of the vocation to be a Christian. It was, he believed, impossible for a man not to have an "ecumenical vocation" once he had realised the implications of his baptism. He saw that unity had to embrace the whole life of the Church, and so he maintained his interest equally in all that happened within and without his own church. He kept himself informed of the doings of the Ecumenical Movement (he never despised conferences), and he kept abreast with all the developments of modern French church life. Thus he was delighted by the growth of the Calvinist religious community at Taizé-les-Cluny, and was deeply interested in the development of the religious life in Anglicanism; he proudly showed his visitors to Lyons the liturgical movement in action at N D de Givors or Pére Remillieux's church of N D de St. Alban, and advised them about the reading of contemporary French theology.

It is scarcely time yet to speak of his virtues, especially patience and humility. In spite of the approval of his ordinary, he suffered much misunderstanding and discouragement; and perhaps it was this which led him to speak of reparation and suffering in a fashion not always congenial to all who otherwise learned the way of prayer for unity from him.

His vision, like his correspondence, was universal, and, so please God, may the extension of his work also be. But his personality was highly individual and local: very French and very much of the twentieth century, very proud of Lyons and its rite, and devoted to little demonstrations of personal affection. But even those who knew him personally will not find it impossible to lose sight of the lowliness of the man and the touching humility of his habits in the breadth of his teaching and the greatness of his spiritual stature.

C. R. R.

The Divine Law

By W. F. EWBANK

The Jews attached a unique importance to the Law of Moses, a being a Law revealed to them by God Himself. They did no regard it as standing upon an equal footing with the national law codes of the Gentiles, but as an immediate exposition of etern law. This claim of the Jews deserves our serious consideratio since it is taken up and reaffirmed in the New Testament. We rea that Jesus himself said that it was easier for heaven and earth t pass than for one tittle of the law to fail, and that he had not com to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them (Lk. xvi, 17 Mt. v, 17-20). He is echoed by St. Paul in the very middle of hi vindication of the supremacy of faith: " do we then make void th law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law." (Rom iii, 31).

In order to appreciate the Jewish claim that the Law of Mose was an immediate revelation of eternal law, we shall need to inquir what eternal law is, and how it stands related to natural law and to human law. For this purpose the distinctions made by Aquinas are very serviceable. (S.T.1, 2ae, xci.).

Eternal law, he says, is the fundamental rational governmen of the universe, proceeding directly upon the will of God — *ipsa ratio gubernationis rerum in Deo, sicut in principe universitatis existens* (xci, 1). It directs all change and motion in the universe, whether in things animate or inanimate—*nihil aliud est quam ratio divinae sapientiae, secundum quod est directiva omnium actuum et motionum* (xciii, 1)—and nothing falls outside its authority—*legi aeternae subduntur omnia quae sunt in rebus a Deo creatis, sive sint contingentia sive necessaria*—except the divine nature or essence, which indeed themselves constitute eternal law — *sun realiter ipsa lex aeterna.*

Natural law, on the other hand, resides in the understandings of conscious rational creatures—*nihil est aliud quam participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura* (xci, 2). It is the impression of eternal law upon created minds. But the impression is blurred by the limitations and imperfections of the minds which receive it, much as reflections are blurred upon ruffled pools of water.

The relationship between natural law and eternal law was clearly grasped by the Biblical writers of the "Wisdom" school. They taught that Wisdom, on the one hand, is the will of God actively ordering the universe, and on the other hand that it resides in the mind of man, conforming him and his doings to the divine order. In the prayer of Solomon, for example, in the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, he says: "Wisdom was with thee; which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and knew what was acceptable in thy sight, and right in thy commandments. O send her out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory, that being present she may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee." (Wisd: ix, 9-10).

Human law is the application of natural law to particular circumstances by the use of the practical reason—*ex praeceptis legis naturae, quasi ex quibusdam principiis communibus et indemonstrabilibus, necesse est quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter disponenda: et istae particulares dispositiones adinventae secundum rationem humanam dicuntur leges humanae* (xci, 3). However, since natural law in the human understanding is imprecise, since the practical reason is fallible, and since the goodness of the human will in the choice of its ends is not to be relied upon, it must be recognized that human law will suffer from many imperfections. It is eternal law which gives to human laws their validity as law—*in temporali legi nihil est iustum ac legitimum, quod non ex lege aeterna homines sibi derivaverint.* (xciii, 3). Where human law does not correspond with natural law, and hence with eternal law—*non erit lex, sed legis corruptio.* (xcv, 2).

The Jews then claimed that the Law of Moses was an immediate revelation of eternal law, independent of the uncertain processes by which human laws are framed. It was, indeed, limited in its range to that part of eternal law which concerns man in general and the covenanted people of God in particular, but within that range its validity was absolute and timeless. This law revealed by God to His people is known as the divine law—*lex divina.*

The content of the divine law would have been described by the Jews as the body of commandments which are contained in the Pentateuch. From the standpoint of a later dispensation we may say more exactly that it comprises all the commands which are found in the Bible. Thus the Bible may be viewed, in one aspect, as the book of the law of the Lord.

So large and diversified a body of law requires elucidation i it is to be of practical use: it needs its own jurisprudence. Two main canons govern the jurisprudence of the divine law: first, tha the Law of Moses in the Pentateuch contains a fully-fashione *corpus iuris divini,* and that the rest of the law in the Old and New Testaments is to be interpreted in connexion with it; secondly, tha the law has an organic unity, and that it must be understood a growing by an orderly development from a single principle.

The central corpus of the law, as found in the Pentateuch, mus be recognized as comprising a collection of the old laws of th Hebrews, edited, adapted and augmented, under the impulse o the prophetic vision, so as to become the vehicle of the divine law Two consequences follow from acknowledgement of this: first, tha much of the law is here couched in terms applicable to the primitiv agricultural society of the centuries which preceded and immediatel followed the exile: secondly, that some elements which have bee taken over with the old laws have little relevance to the divine law but survive in it, as it were, by accident.

The prophetic books stand related to the central corpus of the law much as the debate in the House of Commons stands related to the final form of an Act which has been passed there. In the prophets we watch the ferment of tremendous spiritual forces, in the books of Moses we see the finished form of the revelation and particularly of the law which such travail has given birth to. Accordingly we can use the prophetic writings to throw light upon the meaning of the law. An example should make this plain. The force of the laws which forbid usury upon any loan to a fellow Israelite (Exod. xxii, 25, Deut. xxiii, 19-20, Lev. xxv, 35-38), which require that the pledge for a loan shall not be discourteously seized or mercilessly retained (Deut. xxiv, 10-13. Exod. xxii, 26-27), and that " no man shall take the nether or upper millstone to pledge; for he taketh a man's life to pledge " (Deut. xxiv, 6), and of similar laws, is most clearly understood in light of the denunciations of social oppression in Amos, Isaiah and Micah.

The historical books serve to illustrate the law by narrative. Many instances of this could be given: the laws against covetousness and against murder illustrated in the story of Naboth's vineyard (I Kings, xxi); the law against idolatry illustrated in the accounts of the institution and later destruction of the golden calf at Bethel (I Kings xii, 25-33, xiii, 1-10, II Kings xxiii, 15-20); the law that a man must beget children by his brother's childless widow illustrated in Ruth (iv, 1-12), and so on. The wisdom literature enlarges upon the law by counsel and homily, as the warning against the harlot (Prov. vii, 6-27, etc.), takes up the seventh commandment, and the injunction to respect parents (Prov. xxx, 17, etc.) takes up the fifth.

The New Testament does not contain a fresh statement of the law; there is no new corpus to supplant the old; but it sets the old law in a more penetrating light. It does this by drawing out the deeper meaning of the old commandments and by applying them explicitly to fresh areas of human life. The deeper meaning of the old laws is drawn out either by extension of a commandment to embrace the internal motion of the soul as well as the external action of the body, as the law against adultery is extended to forbid lust (Mt. v, 27-30); or else by supplementation of the old commandment with a new one, more perfectly expressing the genius of the law, as when " thou shalt not forswear thyself " is amended to " swear not at all " (Mt. v, 33-37). The fresh developments of the law in the New Testament affect certain enduring human relationships, those of master and servant, husband and wife, children and parents, and of fellow-members of the Church. (Eph. vi, 1-9, Col. iii, 18-iv, 1, I Tim. vi, 1-4. I Pet. ii, 18-25, iii, 1-7, etc.).

The organic unity of the law provides the criterion by which the relative weight of the varied, and sometimes conflicting, commandments is to be assessed. It is a unity of the simplest kind, and may best be compared to a series of concentric circles with their common centre-point. The commandments which fall in any circle of the law are to be interpreted in the light of those which fall nearer to the centre than themselves, and all are to be interpreted in the light of the central commandment.

One of the scribes asked Jesus which was the first commandment of all, and Jesus replied by quoting Deuteronomy (vi, 4-5): " The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment." (Mk. xii, 29-30). This commandment, concerning the right attitude of man, in the depths of his being, to the God who made him, is the centre-point of the whole law, and it is repeated in many forms and in many places throughout Holy Scripture.

The love towards God which is commanded embraces within itself both faith and hope. In our love to him is included a sure confidence of his care for us, as is indicated by the collocation of ideas in the psalm: "I will love thee, O Lord my God. The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer." (Ps. xviii, 1-2). This confidence extends to God's express promises, and so occasions that hope of eternal life which is the morning star of our twilight. The love of Abraham to God surpassed his love for Isaac, his faith remained unshaken even by the imminent sacrifice on mount Moriah, and his hope in God's promises did not falter at the prospect of the loss of the heir with whose life they seemed entirely to be bound up (Gen. xxii).

The reason why we are commanded to love God is succinctly put in I Jn. iv, 19: "We love him, because he first loved us"; and even more profoundly in v, 8: "He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love". It is the love of God which redeemed his people from exile, in spite of former infidelity, and from their enslavement to lies and shams; and it is the love of God who came in his incarnate Son, and suffered to redeem us from the power of sin and death; it is this love of his for us which is the ground of the commandment that we should love him; and the reason why God has shown this great love for us is that God in himself is love.

The effect of the central commandment upon the divine law is all-pervasive. Everything which is commanded is commanded for the love of God. Righteousness is acceptable to him, therefore righteousness is enjoined; sin is detestable to him, therefore sin is forbidden. "Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. xix, 2). The character of the divine law is taken from the character of God, and he demands its observance that thereby men's characters may be conformed to the holiness which is his own.

The first derivative commandment, which forms as it were the inmost circle about the centre, is found in Leviticus xix, 18: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". This commandment is also taken up and repeated by Christ and called "the second" commandment; and he affirms that none other commandment is greater than these two (Mk. xii, 31) and that "on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Mt. xxii, 40). In fact, the whole derivative law is the expression in detail of this second commandment, "for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law" (Rom. xiii, 8); and this commandment itself is the expression of one aspect of the first; for "if a man say 'I love God' and hateth his brother, he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (I Jn. iv, 20).

The second commandment is dependent on the first, and upon the first only, in such a way that it is binding in all circumstances except when it directly conflicts with the first. It was to such occasions of direct conflict that Jesus referred when he said: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple". (Lk. xiv, 26). The matter can be seen vividly enough in the action of the tribe of Levi at mount Sinai, when they obeyed Moses' order "to go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour" (Exod. xxxii, 27) to avenge the Lord in the blasphemy of the golden calf—the action which also earned their special blessing in "the blessings of Moses" (Deut. xxxiii, 9). Since the rest of the divine law is dependent upon the second great commandment, it follows that the interpretation of all subordinate commandments is governed by it (as Jesus taught, for example, in the parable of the Good Samaritan —Lk. x, 25-37), and that no subordinate commandment, as the law of sabbath observance (Mk. iii, 1-5), can be set up in opposition to it.

Love to one's neighbour, rooted in love to God, manifests itself primarily in certain qualities of the character, and the commendation of these qualities, in such passages as Matthew v, 2-10, I Corinthians xiii, 4-7, and Galatians v, 22-23, constitutes the next circle of the law. This divine, pervasive love "believeth all things, hopeth all things", and will stand up to persecution for the hope of the Kingdom. It "vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up", but appears rather in the hearts of the poor in spirit and those who mourn. It is kind or meek—that is to say, gentle. It is merciful and free from envy. It belongs to the pure in heart and the temperate, not behaving itself unseemly, nor rejoicing in iniquity, but in truth. It is peaceable, not easily provoked, good, thinking no evil. It is patient, bearing all things, enduring all things and suffering long. It is not covetous, and seeks not its own, but hungers and thirsts after righteousness.

The two circles of the law which grow out of this one both govern external actions. The first commands the actions which are appropriate to an individual whose soul is nurtured in love of God and in love to his neighbour and in the resultant spiritual qualities, as the inmost circles of the law have prescribed. The second commands the framework and processes of society such as individuals, whose actions conform to the law, should properly develop in a primitive agricultural environment. The first of these circles, for example, commands that man shall not steal, the second commands the steps which the primitive society should take when a theft has occurred.

A study of the laws in the Pentateuch which govern external actions reveals the preeminent position of the Decalogue in this part of the law. The old-fashioned insistence upon the Ten Commandments as the summary of the law of God (subject always to the two great commandments) is fully vindicated. There is hardly a law in the Pentateuch which is not referable to one, or occasionally two, of the Ten. Indeed, the legal corpus of the Pentateuch is nothing else but the development of the two great commandments under ten main heads in reference to the conditions of contemporary Hebrew society.

The complete exposition of the divine law is necessarily too extensive to include in the present paper, but the value of the two main canons of jurisprudence for its proper development will perhaps be sufficiently shown by taking that part of the law which falls under one of the ten heads and making it serve as a sample of the rest.

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." This third commandment is developed in five sections, which concern blasphemy, oaths of affirmation, adjuration, oaths of dedication, and prophecy. Both the Old and New Testaments share in its development.

The law of blasphemy is stated in Leviticus (xxiv, 10-16): "Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death"; and the penalty for Israelite or foreigner is death by stoning. In Exodus (xxii, 28, R.V.) its application is extended: "thou shalt not revile God nor curse a ruler of thy people." It was under this law that the Sanhedrin condemned Jesus (Mk. xiv, 64), and that Stephen was stoned (Acts vi, 11), and that Paul apologized to the High Priest (Acts xxiii, 1-5). Jesus shifted the emphasis of the law from blasphemy against the Name of God to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit of God, in which form it is unforgivable, in time or down eternity (Mt. xii, 31-32).

An affirmation sworn in the name of God is binding absolutely (Lev. v, 4, xix, 12), as was the oath sworn by the princes to the Gibeonites (Josh. ix, 15-21): "ye shall not sware by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God." The law on this point is first summed up by Jesus in the words "thou shalt not forswear thyself," and then amended by his new commandment to "swear not at all" (Mt. v, 33-37). His new commandment advances the intention of the old. Originally men were free to break their word at pleasure; then the commandment intervened that at least a word sworn in the name of the Lord should not be broken; then the new commandment demanded that a man's bare word should be as binding as his oath, his yea should be yea and his nay, nay, (*cp.* Jas. v, 12). But the amendment was not meant for abrogation of the former law, for there is no passage in the Old Testament which describes the transcendent obligation created by an oath with the power with which Matthew xxiii, 16-22 expounds it. In short, if an oath is sworn, although "it cometh of evil" (Mt. v, 37), yet it is binding; but if not, the bare word itself is equally binding.

The law of adjuration is in Leviticus (v, 1); "If any one sin, in that he heareth the voice of adjuration, he being a witness, whether he hath seen or known, if he do not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity" (R.V.)—that is to say, when anyone is adjured in the name of God to tell what he has seen or known in regard to some event which has taken place, of which he was a witness, he must speak out or incur the penalty of sin. Jesus himself acknowledged the force of this law, at one of the most dramatic scenes in human history, when he was adjured by the High Priest of God's chosen people to tell them who he was, and broke his silence to answer. (Mt. xxvi, 59-66).

The law of the oath of dedication is stated in its essence in Deuteronomy (xxiii, 21-23): "When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it: for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee. But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee. That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform, even a freewill offering, according as thou hast vowed unto the Lord thy God, which thou hast promised with thy mouth". Leviticus (xxvii) develops this law with regard first to the commutation for money of human beings vowed to God (vv. 1-8), who would otherwise presumably suffer the fate of Jephthah's daughter (Judg. xi, 30-40): and then with regard to beasts which are vowed (vv. 9-10); and then with regard to the commutation for money of any unclean beast which has been vowed (vv. 11-13) or of land (vv. 14-25). Firstlings of beasts, which already are holy to God, cannot be vowed to him, but must be killed or redeemed. Nothing " devoted " to God, that is to say, vowed under a curse, can be spared or redeemed, neither man nor beast nor property; but the property must be given to God, like the spoils of Jericho (Josh. vi, 24); the cattle slain, as the cattle of Amalek should have been by Saul (I Sam. xv, 3); and the persons must be killed, as " Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord " (I Sam. xv, 33), or as Joshua caused Achan to be stoned (Josh. vii, 25-26). However, in the story of Saul's devoting to God any man who paused from the battle to eat (I Sam. xiv), the instinct of the people rescued Jonathan from the curse, in virtue of the weightier laws of justice and of mercy (vv. 44-45). The use which unscrupulous Pharisees made of this law, concerning the irredeemable devotion of property to God, so as to escape the responsibility of supporting their parents, incurred the merciless censure of Jesus (Mk. vii, 10-13), in the well-known passage about the Corban.

There was a particular method of vowing a person to God, which was called the vow of the Nazirite, the law of which is described in Numbers (vi, 1-21). Ordinarily such a vow was taken for a limited time, and terminated with the appointed offerings, but occasionally it seems to have been taken for life, as with Samson (Judg. xvi, 17) and Samuel (I Sam. i, 11) and John the Baptist (Lk. i, 15). The vow involved abstinence from wine and all products of the vine, the growing of the hair, and strict ceremonial purity. The men whom Paul was asked to sponsor in the temple (Acts xxi, 21-26) seem to have been under a vow of this kind.

Not every person was fully competent to make an oath of dedication (Num. xxx). A man, widow, and a divorced woman are competent to bind themselves by an oath. An unmarried woman living in her father's house, or a married woman in her husband's, could vow a vow, but her father or husband, as the case might be, could disallow her vow, so long as he did so on the day on which he heard of it; otherwise she was bound by it (vv. 13-15).

The final law which falls under the third commandment is the law of the false prophet, who utters lies in the name of the Lord, like the Hananiah whom Jeremiah contended with (Jer. xxviii) or Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah who opposed Micaiah before Ahab (I Kings xxii, 1-28). The law is found in Deuteronomy (xviii, 20, xiii, 5), to the effect that the false prophet shall die. It can always be known whether a man is a true prophet or not by the fulfilment of the word which he speaks.

The whole of the divine law is capable of being set out in a systematic way, like this sample of it. The core of each of its ten sections is to be found in the Pentateuch, and the remaining books of the Old and New Testaments serve variously to illustrate, to enlarge and to deepen.

Since the divine law was originally embodied in the code of a simple, agricultural society which now exists no longer, we must consider how to apply its provisions to diverse situations as they arise. Now God is eternally the same; as it is written in Malachi (iii, 6), " I am the Lord, I change not "; therefore the divine law which is grounded upon the character of God must also in its essence be immutable. Human nature does not change, either, in its main constituents. Therefore the law of a changeless God, applied to the unchanging nature of man, retains its force in all varieties of circumstance. That is to say, the central commandment and the inner circles of the law, which govern the disposition of man's soul and the personal actions of the individual, are exactly the same for us now as for the primitive Hebrews. But human society not being as changeless as human nature, that part of the divine law which governs social arrangements does not share in this immutability; generation by generation it must be freshly formulated, as the conditions of society alter. But the mutations of this outmost circle of the law are never simply arbitrary; rather, they proceed upon two clear principles: first they are governed all the time by the commandments of the inner circles of the law and by the central commandment; secondly, they are guided by analogy from the simple and classical formulation of this part of the law in the Bible, so far as such analogy can be discerned.

Throughout this paper all mention of the ceremonial commandments of the law has been deliberately omitted, since their nature is different from that of the rest of the law. It must suffice to note here briefly that the essential functions of the ceremonial have all the permanence which belongs to a part of the divine law. These essential functions are two: to establish and maintain a bond of communion between man and God against the historical background of the covenant, and to provide a means for the expiation of the sin which hinders that communion. The ceremonies and sacrifices which were commanded in the Law of Moses are to be understood as "certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace", which derived their actual effectiveness proleptically from the real communion between God and man which was brought about at the incarnation of the Son, and from the real atonement for human sin which was accomplished on Calvary. Under the new covenant their outward forms were altered by the institution of the Christian sacraments, but the essential functions remained the same. There is this one change, however: the Christian sacraments look back to an incarnation and to an atonement which have already happened; and they derive their power from an event in the historical past, and no longer proleptically from the future.

Planes of Revelation in Buddhology and Christology

By D. W. GUNDRY

I

T the end of his epoch-making book translated into English under
e title of *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* Schweitzer declares:
Jesus as a concrete historical personality remains a stranger to our
me." Every theological student will recall how brilliantly Schweit-
r shows the futility of the undertaking of so many nineteenth-cen-
ry "biographers" of Jesus, how he becomes a victim of his own
esis by suggesting that Jesus was in historical fact little more than a
sillusioned eschatologist, and how he ultimately takes refuge in
ysticism. The book closes with these words:

> He comes to us as One unknown, without a name, as of old, by
> e lakeside, He came to those who knew Him not. He speaks to us
> e same word: "Follow thou me!", and sets us to the tasks which He
> s to fulfil for our time. He commands. And to those who obey
> im, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the
> ils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in His
> llowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own
> perience Who He is.[1]

This eloquent passage is quoted because it pin-points a prob-
m. How does the Christian believer in fact know Jesus? It
clear that, if we take the Gospels of the New Testament as records,
en embellished records, of certain historical events, we can know
mething of Jesus. We can know him as we know Socrates or
exander the Great, *i.e.*, at second-hand. But clearly the Christian
es not stop there. He claims to know something more—not only
mething of the mind of Jesus, but also something of his pre-
nce. As Schweitzer puts it, they "learn in their own experience
ho He is." The literature of Christian devotion abounds with
stances. Sometimes these take the form of theological or proto-
eological statements, as in the Pauline Christology, which makes
ry few references to the earthly life and teaching of Jesus. When
e Apostle says, "I live, and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in

me," he is referring to his own experience and not to objective hi toric fact. Again, when the Christian says,

Jesu, lover of my soul,
Let me to Thy bosom fly,

he may perhaps cast his mind back to the Crucifixion, but his ow subjective experience is paramount. In this case, the knowled of Jesus may have begun as information received at second-han but, as a result of devotional exercise, Jesus has ceased to be pr marily an historic figure, and has become a present mystical fac Even if it were proved to-morrow by scientific research that th Jesus of history had never lived, it is likely that the mystical fa would remain. Such was very nearly the thesis of many of th so-called Catholic "modernists" at the turn of the century. He myth becomes more important than actual event, imagination mor enlightening than the data of spatio-temporal sense experience.

So far, then, it appears that Jesus may mean one or both o two things for the Christian. He may be an historic figure—th Jesus read about in the Gospels; or he may be a mystical figure—the Jesus of the believer's experience. There is yet a third interpretation. Jesus may be a symbol of something transcending history or even imagination. This was the view of many nineteenth-century exponents of philosophical idealism. For example, to Kant "Christ was but the abstract idea of ethical perfection, of moral unity with God; and what saves is faith in this idea, not in Jesus as a person."[2]

Similarly Hegel's philosophy of religion envisages Jesus as the human symbol of God's (or the Absolute's) self-realization through human experience. As religion in general is philosophy in picture-language, so is Christology in particular the evolution of Mind in picture-language. This thesis, variously modified, attained widespread popularity among the nineteenth-century intelligentsia in their justifiable dissatisfaction with orthodox Christianity, which then, as now, seemed incapable of understanding the contemporary mood. The Hegelian interpretation of Christ gained considerable favour in this country, where T. H. Green at Oxford and Edward Caird in Scotland were perhaps its foremost exponents, and had a tremendous following.[3]

We should be unwise to underestimate the influence of the Kantian, Hegelian and kindred types of nineteenth-century idealism on Christian belief. While, no doubt, to-day most theological ıdents are assured that such interpretations are outmoded, it is obable that in fact the average intelligent layman is still, and will ntinue to be, sympathetic to them. It is not our purpose here, wever, to embark on a discussion of modern Christology as ch. We have been concerned so far simply to indicate that it is ssible to isolate three pictures of Jesus in Christian belief—the sus who lived as an historic figure; the Jesus of devout imagina- n; and the Jesus who symbolizes an idea.

II

At this point we leave Christology for the time being, and rn to the doctrine of the person of the Buddha. There must, wever, be an initial word of caution. While at first sight Chris- nity and Buddhism show many interesting similarities of belief d practice, it would be foolish in the extreme to jump to any nclusion that there must in fact be a connexion between them. hat the great orientalist F. Max Müller wrote seventy years ago ll holds good:

> I should be extremely grateful if anybody would point out to me historical channels through which Buddhism has influenced Chris- nity. I have been looking for such channels all my life, but herto I have found none. What I have found is that for some of most startling coincidences there are historical antecedents on th sides; and if we once know these antecedents the coincidences come far less startling.[4]

is does not mean, of course, that there is no connexion what- er between Buddhism and Christianity: what it does mean is at no sure connexion has yet been discovered.

Here we are not concerned with historical connexions, but th a strange similarity of ideas concerning the person of the ddha and the person of Christ. It will perhaps be advantageous give some preliminary information; and I ask your patience if s is already familiar to you.

There is no reason to doubt that Gautama, later known as the ddha (the Enlightened), really lived in the sixth and fifth cen- ries B.C. A prince by birth, he found little satisfaction in the nduism of his native India, and after a long period of quest arrived at a philosophy of life which has become the creed of 0 million souls—like Christianity, most of them outside the land of its origin. The Buddha's philosophy was intended to be eminently practical: it may well be that he considered extensive philosophical speculation futile. He was obsessed by the suffering of the world, and sought through his example and teaching to show men the way from suffering. This consists of the recognition that the cause of suffering is the craving for life which characterizes all beings; and this knowledge is half the cure. The practical consequent step is to extinguish this thirst for life; and the means he teaches is that of a disciplined life, neither prodigal nor ascetic, which will so prevent bondage to this illusory world that after death there will be no reassembly of man's constituent parts into another craving, suffering personality, but the attainment of *nirvana*,[5] the ineffable state of final bliss. This programme of salvation, once known, a man must fulfil for himself. Tradition has it that the Buddha's last words were, "Decay is inherent in all component things ! Work out your own salvation with diligence."[6]

Now it appears that the Buddha himself simply taught like any other Indian *arhat*; but after his death Buddhists could hardly refrain from speculating on the person of so great a teacher who had given them their religion. Within two or three centuries Buddhists split into two major schools,[7] known as Hinayana (the Lesser Vehicle)[8] and Mahayana (the Greater Vehicle). The latter school, which flourishes mainly in China and Japan and developed numerous sub-schools or sects, came to teach that Gautama was no ordinary human being. Some Mahayanists have even given him the designation of "God of gods": all of them regard him as a supernatural being, who, having himself attained *nirvana*, chose to forgo his reward and remains, so to speak, between men and *nirvana*, offering to them his guidance and a share in his merit.

This doctrine of mediation is closely connected with another prominent in Mahayana, *viz*, that of the *bodhisattva* (enlightened being). A *bodhisattva* is a heavenly being who has acquired the Buddha nature. Such a being may have been in origin a saint, who at length has achieved *nirvana*, and who, like the original Buddha, mediates between man and his final bliss. There are countless *bodhisattvas;* and the veneration of them may be compared with the excessive hagiolatry of popular Roman Christianity. These divine beings are almost full Buddhas[9]; and this illustrates the absolute idealism underlying Buddhology—an idealism not dissimilar from that which underlies Hegel's Christology.

Human personality, so real in the common Christian view of ings, is illusory in the Buddhist. In consequence the historic iddha fades into insignificance, particularly for the Mahayanist. deed, in the later classic *The Awakening of Faith,* attributed, per- ips erroneously, to the great Buddhist teacher Asvagosha, Buddh- m is clearly taught as an Absolute Idealism, in which Reality n only be described as *Bhutatathata* (Thusness).

It is here that we discover a phase of Buddhist teaching which iks up with what was said earlier in connexion with Christology. ahayana Buddhism has developed what is known as the doctrine *trikaya* (three bodies). Thus the Buddha can be known on three anes:

1 *Nirmanakaya* (The Body of Transformation). This signifies e historic Buddha who lived and taught between 560 and 480 B.C., iown to his contemporaries through their senses of sight, speech id hearing, and, because it is finite and can do no more than itiate men to the knowledge of the true Buddha, is revelation on e lowest plane.

2. *Sambhogakaya* (The Body of Bliss). This appears to mean i ethereal manifestation of the Buddha independent of the normal storic process. This is the Buddha known to the imagination in e many guises of Buddhist mythology, *e.g.*, as Amida (the Com- issionate) or in the countless *bodhisattvas*. Such a revelation is ild to be on a higher plane than the previous, that limiting the uddha to an historic personality.

3. *Dharmakaya* (The Body of the Law). This is the Buddha iown not as an actual or as an imaginary person but impersonally the Dharma, or Law. Here sense experience and imagination, is claimed, are transcended; and the Buddhist has the highest iowledge on the plane of pure reason.

In other words, the highest knowledge is that of Reality as the idefined Absolute—Tathata (Suchness). Some men, however, ive not reached this stage in their quest for enlightenment, and ill cling to the idea of a personal Reality. The more advanced these rely on a mystical Buddha or Buddhas apparent to their iagination, while the simple have to follow, relatively blindly, the ikyamuni, the Buddha of history, who died long ago.

Mahayana Buddhists are in no doubt as to the order of superi- ity of these three *kaya;* and this is necessarily the case because eir creed is idealist, reckoning the world of experience, including the human ego, illusory and the ultimate abiding Reality imperson and ineffable. It might be interesting and instructive to try to d cover the order in which Christians place the three planes of revel tion already suggested in respect of Christology. To which kno ledge of Christ should the Christian look for his fullest enlighte ment—to the Jesus of history, to the Christ of theology or to t Christ-ideal of nineteenth-century philosophers? Have we or ha we not something to learn from Buddhism? Is it not high ti we recognized that we must progress beyond Christian mytholog even to the point of dispensing with it and recognizing that Reali is non-personal? Perhaps, for example, Mr. Aldous Huxley monism in his *The Perennial Philosophy*, which reflects his attra tion to Hindu and Buddhist thought, is a safer creed for present-d man in his perplexities than that of Christian theologians.

III

The Christian Church has never, in any of its official formularies, attempted to differentiate between the Jesus of history, the Jesus of mystical experience, or the Jesus embodying an eternal ideal. Until comparatively recently in the history of Christian thought there has rarely been any need for such a differentiation; for the subjectivity of human knowledge had not become a serious problem for the occidental. Adam was as historical a figure as the prophets. The Jesus of mythology was as historical a figure as the Jesus of the Gospels. Historical criticism, particularly during the last century, distinguished between the two; and subsequently, as in the work of Schweitzer and of the contemporary Bultmann the problem has been complicated by the realization of the elusiveness of the Jesus of history. We can never know an historical personality as we know one living now; and, in the case of past religious leaders, it is the more difficult to form a picture, because there is no sure criterion by which we can judge supernatural claims

It is not, however, proposed here to enter into a detailed comparison of the claims made by Christians for Christ and those made by Mahayana Buddhists for the Buddha as a divine revelation, though the problem raised by such a comparison cannot be avoided by those who would be intellectually honest. Our main concern is simply a comparison of the interpretation of these two great figures by their adherents.

As we have seen, Mahayana Buddhists generally regard the storical manifestation of the Buddha as revelation on the lowest ane, his manifestation to the imagination as the living compas- nate Buddha as a higher sort of revelation, and his manifestation the reason as "the highest and only true reality, the void, which s underneath every phenomenal thing."[10] This "law-body", or *armahaya,* Keith says, "has an equivalent in suchness (*tathata*) . a term which in some aspects stresses the primitive non-differen- tion of reality . . . It may also be equated with the womb of Tatha- ta (*tathagatagarbba*), which is primarily intuition or true know- dge."[11]

Save perhaps for those who still labour under the spell of egelianism or some other variety of idealism, the Christian is pelled by any similar interpretation of the person of Christ, though one is bound to admit that the three main schools of ought, say, within Anglo-Saxon theology have come perilously ar it. The so-called catholic school in its more naïve guise, th its assertion that the historical Christ founded an historical stitution, outside which there is no salvation, is not dissimilar om Hinayana Buddhism, which looks only to the historic Buddha, e *Sangha* (the Church or Order) and the *Dharma* (the Law or Doc- ne) for its creed and ethic.[12] Nevertheless, Catholicism leaves nple room for personal devotion on the mystical level, despite e fact that the historic Christ and the Church are fundamental.

The Evangelical tradition, however, tends to stress the Jesus personal experience, a supernatural being, not so much the initia- r and unseen head of an institution, but the ever-present personal viour of the individual believer. Here subjective experience is ramount. Not that the historic Christ is unimportant; but that e second-hand knowledge of him, through the reading of the New stament record, is the starting point of something which is to ow into a mystical relationship.

Yet many Christians—notably those of the liberal tradition— ve never been happy, for themselves at any rate, with reliance on religious experience.[13] For them reason predominates; and, their interpretation of Christianity, Jesus often tends to be the emplar in time of eternal truth. This is not necessarily a modern ew of Christianity, but has existed ever since Christians began think profoundly about the significance of Christ. The *Logos* ctrine, which appears early in Christian thought, even in the New

Testament itself, clearly reflects a leaning towards the Greek concept of a non-personal Reality rather than the Hebrew concept of a personal God. That there was suspicion of this intrusion of Platonism in the early Church is indicated by the existence of that little-known second-century sect, the Alogoi, who perhaps saw the danger of exalting the Word over the Christ.

On reflexion, the Christian, unless he be a thorough-going idealist, will not be happy at evaluating the revelation of Christ in history, in experience and in reason on the basis of the *trikaya* doctrine in Buddhology. Few would want to rate any one plane of revelation higher than the other; and the obvious comment suggests itself, that the three, in Christology, are not alternative but complementary. The Christ of mysticism would never have appeared had there not been an historic life of Christ. Again, there would have been no specifically Christian idealism without the historic Christ. But an historic Christ alone, unrelated to personal religious experience or to the apprehension of reality, would never have been anything more than an historic figure, like any other religious genius.

If, then, all three levels of revelation are essential together and none " higher " than the other, we must ask why. Is there any ground for believing that the corresponding level of revelation in Christology to the *dharmakaya* of Mahayana Buddhism is not the sublimest knowledge of Christ?

IV

The parallel cannot be maintained, because the doctrinal antecedents of Christology and Buddhology are fundamentally at variance, particularly those relating to God, man and the world Christianity is rooted in Judaism; and Judaism, apart from such deviations as the medieval *Kabbalah,* was uncompromising in its belief in the transcendence and personality of God. Christian Platonism and later forms of Christian idealism, in glancing back to Greece rather than to Israel, were perhaps also glancing black to Indian pantheism.

In other words, our view of Christology is inextricably bound up with our idea of God. Buddhism, if not frankly atheistic, is certainly not theistic; and, in so far as it admits the existence of deities, they are not conceived of as supreme beings but as within the illusory world of *karma, i.e.*, the sphere dominated by *samsara*, the process of reincarnation. The ultimate reality is not deity but the Absolute, *tathata*, suchness; and " to coalesce one's personal consciousness with the indwelling essence of Suchness is Nirvana."[14] There is, doubtless, much to be said for regarding the *dharmakaya* as the higher sort of revelation, if one holds a monist philosophy; and it is little wonder that Christology has been similarly interpreted by those who have virtually accepted a like philosophy in the West.

If, however, by God one means the personal Creator, Father, Judge, transcendent as well as immanent, then the *trikaya* evaluation of the planes of revelation can have no counterpart in Christianity; for personality and human values, so unreal to the Buddhist, now take on an abiding significance. Indeed, the Christ of history and devout imagination may be nearer the truth than the Christ who is simply an anthropomorphic symbol of an abstract ideal. Philosophical idealism tends to be Manichaean: it is squeamish about the sensible world, and takes refuge in the ethereal.[15]

Likewise, Buddhist anthropology virtually denies the permanence of personality by reducing self to a collection of aggregates (*khandas*)[16]—form, feeling, perception, tendency, consciousness. When these no longer come together to make what is commonly called a person, the wheel of *karma* is escaped and *nirvana* is achieved. The Greek notion of *σῶμα σῆμα*, of the body a tomb, is not altogether dissimilar; but the Greek, rather more appreciative of the beauty imprisoned in the world of time and sense, was never quite so denunciatory of the self as the Indian. While Greek and Oriental influence on the Christian doctrine of man has been strong—it is evident even in St. Paul, certainly in St. Augustine, and even more so in antinomianism—the Hebrew insistence on the reality of the flesh as well as the spirit has persisted; and for this we may be thankful.

If the self is non-permanent and to be escaped by the individual's own effort, then the historic Buddha himself can be none other than the pioneer of such a way of life. This plane of revelation must necessarily be the lowest; while the revelation of the Buddha to the reason, as what is left after the cessation of selfhood has been attained, must be the highest. With this Christianity can have little in common; for Christ's purpose for his disciples was " that they might have life, and have it more abundantly." We are perhaps still so much under the spell of idealism that we tend to regard eschatological imagery of heaven as the crude product of earthbound imagination; but there is this to be said for it, that it sees this world not as an illusion but as a foretaste. There may well be a sense in which the sensuous heaven of the Quran is nearer the truth than the *nirvana* of Hinduism and Buddhism.

The Christian idea of man and his destiny is governed by the Resurrection, which, as St. Paul so eloquently struggled to express, is the proclamation of a life which is greater than and not less than this one. We cannot underrate the importance of this world and life in it, as it is the only life of which we have immediate knowledge.

Buddhist cosmology is inherently pessimistic about the cosmos As for the Hindu, life in it is *maya,* illusion; and bliss comes when one is so liberated from it that simply void remains. Judaeo-Christian cosmology suggests the opposite. When God created the world, " it was very good "; and even the Greek found in the universe around him a harmonious order (κόσμος). Hence, revelation within history and within the experience of human beings takes on as great a significance as abstract knowledge delivered only through the reason or intuition. The Christian must be optimistic about the world. This does not mean that he entertains shallow unrealistic notions about inevitable progress; but it does mean that he sees in the world and its history the field of God's sovran rule as well as of his own creaturely activity.

Further, because God is both in and over his creation, the Christian finds God's saving power at work where it is needed most. He does not need to be a poet or a metaphysician to enter into communion with his Lord. Even if his historical sense is not keen, he trusts—and never without avail—that God will reveal himself sufficiently through simple faith.

The Buddhist, on the other hand, though he may be inspired by the example of Gautama or by the appeal to his imagination of a mythical Buddha, must seek *nirvana* alone. " Be ye lamps unto yourselves ", was Gautama's injunction. As we recalled earlier, the *Sutta of the Great Decease* has it that Gautama's final words to his disciples were: " Decay is inherent in all component things ! Work out your own salvation with diligence."[17]

St. Paul uses almost identical words but with a tremendous addendum which entirely alters their meaning. " Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you."[18] With ethical monotheism as his fundamental tenet, the Christian believes the revelation of God in Christ is not limited to any particular plane, but can invade any sphere of human experience which God pleases to enter. For the Buddhist, on the other hand, the highest revelation is bound to be the intuitive apprehension of *tathata,* the undifferentiated Absolute, because that is, in Buddhist belief, the most rarefied mental state to which man can attain. Or, to put it more simply, revelation in Christian theology is revelation by God to man as man can best understand. The Christian is not bound to assess any one plane of revelation above the others. He must insist on all three; but, with a reverent reserve, he must also consider each one incomplete. Certainly, he will not regard the apprehension of an impersonal Absolute as his highest knowledge. For him the final and abiding vision will not come until he has passed *ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem*; and then it will prove to embrace not less than the best this world affords, but infinitely more.

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[1] *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* 2nd Engl. ed., London, 1911, repr. 1952, pp. 399 and 401.

[2] H. R. Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ,* Edinburgh, 2nd ed., 1913, p. 249.

[3] T. H. Green, *Lay Sermons,* in *Works,* vol. iii, 3rd ed., London, 1891, and Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Religion,* 3rd ed., Glasgow, 1899. The idealist view is well summed up in a remark attributed to Sir Henry Jones, one of the later exponents of Hegelianism. He is reputed to have been challenged whether he believed in the divinity of Christ, and replied, " I do not deny the divinity of any man."

[4] F. Max Müller, *India : What can it teach us?* London, 1883, p. 279.

[5] The Sanskrit term is given, since this, on account of its occurrence in Hinduism as well as in Buddhism, is more familiar in the West. Although there are Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit, the Buddhist Canon, the *Tipitaka,* is in Pali. The Pali equivalent of *nirvana* is *nibbana.* For a short explanation of the term by a British Buddhist, *v.* Christmas Humphreys, *Buddhism,* London, Pelican Books, 1951, pp. 127-129.

[6] *Mahaparinibbana–Sutta* (Sutta of the Great Decease), v.

[7] For an account of the schism and of subsequent sectarianism, *v.* K. J. Saunders, *Epochs of Buddhist History,* Chicago, 1924; F. Harold Smith, *The Buddhist Way of Life,* London, 1951; also Christmas Humphreys, *op. cit.,* pp. 45 ff.

[8] This term is Mahayanist. Hinayanists call their version o Buddhism, *Theravada* (the Way of the Elders), claiming that it is th simple unadulterated teaching of the Founder.

[9] *v.* Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* London, 1932. For brief account *v.* F. Harold Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 119 ff, and Christma Humphreys, *op. cit.,* pp. 158 ff.

[10] A. Berriedale Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy,* Oxford, 1923, p. 267

[11] *op. cit.,* p. 268. Buddhists never address the Buddha a "Buddha". He is *Tathagata,* the one who has become suchnes *(tathata).* "What, in other words, makes him the Buddha is that h has found the *Dhamma,* and having been true to it and identified him self with it proclaims it to the world. In this identification lies the see for the Buddhology of later ages. The *Tathagata,* 'he who has reache reality', gives places to the Tathata, reality itself."—K. J. Saunder *Epochs of Buddhist History,* Chicago, 1924, p. 9.

[12] With this difference, that Hinayana makes few supernatura claims for Gotama: whereas Catholic Christianity envisages the super natural in the Christian revelation as *sui generis* within the histori process.

[13] For a strong criticism *v.* H. Rashdall, *The Validity of Religiou Experience,* in *Ideas and Ideals,* Oxford, 1928.

[14] Christmas Humphreys, *op. cit.,* p. 148.

[15] If it has done little else, the contemporary fashion in philosophy known popularly as "logical positivism", has endeavoured to pull th head of the metaphysical ostrich out of the idealist sand and make i blink at the immediate world around it.

[16] *Cf.* the classical illustration of the non-permanence of the eg in the nominalist parable of the chariot in the *Milindapanha* (Questions of King Milinda). Some Buddhist apologists maintain that the denial that there is a self does not mean there is no self. *v.* Christmas Humphreys, *op. cit.,* p. 86.

[17] Unwittingly or not, Mr. T. S. Eliot makes his psychiatrist in his *The Cocktail Party* prescribe the Buddha's remedy to his patients.

[18] *Phil.* ii, 12 and 13.

A Note on the Monarchy

By C. H. SISSON

THERE is no danger of our forgetting that we live in a democracy. The fact is repeatedly mentioned, usually in the course of a reminder that the democracy we live in is one of a number. Moreover, it is usually supposed that the common elements by virtue of which the democracies constitute a nameable class are more important features of the governments concerned than are the elements by which they differ. Although every literate person must have had cause to doubt this in particular cases, the ordinary supposition so far has force that the patently undemocratic elements in these governments, and most of all in our own, are obscured. It is true that, in a democracy we suddenly have cause to dislike, the undemocratic elements will as suddenly walk abroad like skeletons from a cupboard. In the case of our own country, certain undemocratic elements are inescapably visible even to the most friendly eye; they have to be laughed off or explained away as " survivals " (as if democracy itself were not that) enjoying, in comparison with the real works of government, only an inferior degree of reality. So the Trooping the Colour must be regarded as a leg-show of Guardsmen, the crown as a bauble, and the Coronation itself as something for the illustrated papers.

It is a common state of mind to suppose that, in matters of government, the more obvious a thing is the less it is to be believed. Bagehot was of this mind. He was a publicist, and the dearest professional hypothesis of such people is: Things are not what they seem. The outward show, what you, poor fool, take to be real, is something they whip away to show you the cleverly constructed machinery behind. The typical publicist is like Berkeley's minute philosopher, putting a logomachy in place of the visible world. With such people, the very patency of the monarchy tells against its significance being recognized. Bagehot attributed importance to the monarchy, but it was an importance of an inferior kind. The Queen was " dignified ", in his phraseology: that meant she was not much good. She was for fools to goggle at. As there were a lot of fools, that counted for something. Indeed, Bagehot seems to have estimated the number of those who were not fools as being, in his day, not more than ten thousand.[1] These read *The Economist* and formed a freemasonry of republicans.

Bagehot has had a prolonged success, so that one might be tempted to think that the Constitution, so sensitive to everything that is said about it, has adapted itself to him. At any rate we find Ivor Jennings, whose book *Cabinet Government* is so sober that it might have appeared as a serial in *The Times,* saying without turning a hair that " the existence or absence of a monarch does not in itself make a fundamental distinction in a Constitution."[2] This outbids Bagehot's statement that it is a " fiction that ministers are, in any political sense, the Queen's servants."[3] Jennings can even say: " The functions of the head of the state, be he King or President, are ancillary."[4] For Jennings, as for Bagehot, the cabinet is really the head as well as the guts of the commonwealth.

Observe that the place assigned to the monarch is a matter of theory. It is not directly dependent on the facts about the day-to-day exercise of her powers. We can accept what Jennings says on that point. He says, among other things, that in that matter Bagehot was wrong, and that the monarch may in fact have considerable influence on the decisions of the government.[5] For all that, his view of monarchy is, in principle, the same as Bagehot's. The monarch is ancillary, she is not part of the main function of government. Bagehot and Jennings agree in this matter in spite of their differences as to the facts because such general conclusions are the children of faiths, valuations and predispositions as much as of observation. Do not be deceived by Bagehot's boasting that he looks at the " living reality " and not at the " paper description "; that he is for " rough practice " and not for " the many refinements of literary theory."[6] All that is merely a flapping of the robes of the wizard and diviner. It is a glimpse of the rôle Bagehot liked to think of himself in. The author of the biographical note prefaced to his *Literary Studies* says that " it was a satisfaction to him to show that he understood the world far better than the world had ever understood him."[7]

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[1] Walter Bagehot: *The English Constitution* (The World's Classics, 1936) p. 6.

[2] Ivor Jennings: *Cabinet Government* (2nd Edition, 1951), p. 303.

[3] Bagehot, p. 11.

[4] Jennings, p. 303.

[5] Jennings, p. 303.

[6] Bagehot, p. 1.

Against Bagehot and Jennings we can set Clarendon, for although 1688 may have altered some practices of government (even if to a less extent than is sometimes supposed) it could not alter the principles. Clarendon says: " Kings having still all the power remaining in them, that they have not themselves parted with, and released to their subjects, and their subjects having no pretence to more liberty or power than the King hath granted and given them."[8] It is a weakness of writers on politics in our days that they have to pretend that what they write is pure observation. Clarendon's remark is pure theory. It contains an assertion or principle about the final source of power. What the kings have " released to their subjects " is of course a variable matter of fact, but a variation, as between Clarendon's day and our own, in the quantity of what has been released, does not affect the principle. If we start with an unlimited power, whatever is given away something will remain. To quote an authority more likely to be tolerable to modern opinion than is the historian of the Rebellion, here is D. Lindsay Keir: The king's " prerogative, however circumscribed by convention, must always retain its historic character as a residue of discretionary authority to be employed for the common good."[9] The monarchic principle is not that the king should have all power, but that he is the legitimate source of all power.

Look at our present constitution by the candle of this principle. We shall deny Bagehot's assertion that it is a " fiction " that " ministers are, in any political sense, the Queen's servants." We shall say, on the contrary, that the Queen rules through her Ministers, and that she does not rule any the less for that, just as Ministers are not the less Ministers because they exercise their functions in the main through officials. But the Queen, you will say, does not attend to the details of her country's administration. The Minister does not attend to the details of his Department's administration. It would be a true anachronism for him to do so. It would be a true anachronism for the Queen to express her preferences in the million and one topics that come before her government. The Minister has one inalienable function, which is to secure the coherence of his Department. The Queen has one inalienable function, which is to secure the coherence of her country. The Minister performs his function more by taking advice and bowing before facts than he does by giving advice and making facts bow before him. And so with the Queen. Her quiescence is the very principle of order. In the course of her duty of securing the coherence and continuity of her realm, the controversies which overturn parties are of no account. " The Queen's service must be carried on ", now this way, now that, to please the whim of party and populace, but that is only because, if those whims are not appeased, there will be disorder and the service will be broken or at an end. The Queen's duty perhaps demands any submission except what will break the realm.

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[7] R. H. Hutton: Prefatory Memoir to Bagehot: *Literary Studies* (1898), p. 1.

[8] Clarendon: *A Brief Survey of the Leviathan* (1676), p. 89.

[9] D. Lindsay Keir: *The Constitutional History of Modern Britain* 1485-1937 (Third Edition), 1946, p. 491.

In this scheme of things, the reins of authority meet in the Queen's hand. All the other authorities are subordinate and derivative from her. If the Commons unseat a Government, she takes other advisers because her duty is to govern in a manner that will be tolerated. Jennings makes much of what he calls a new principle. He says that a fundamental change came with the Reform Act. Before it, the government reposed in the Sovereign's confidence; afterwards, on the people's. There are historical refinements, evidently, in the position before the Reform Bills and after. But there never was a time when a Government had not to be tolerable if it was to endure. James II's popery made his power crumble under his feet. It is not the Reform Bills themselves, but the urbanization and literacy which produced them, which made it necessary latterly for the monarch to listen as attentively to the murmurings of the people as formerly to the growls of the nobility. It is the notorious complexity of a modern administration which has caused the monarch to " release to his subjects " (in Clarendon's phrase) so many powers.

The maxim that the Queen's service must be carried on means, among other things, that it is of greatly more importance that there should be a government in England than that its complexion should be that of one or another party. It is of the nature of party politicians to exaggerate and exacerbate their differences. They present their policies, which are merely an aspect of things, as the thing itself. The thing itself is the great *res publica* whose continuance the Queen wills. She wills, all the time, all those laws which, by and with the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, she or her predecessors have enacted and have not repealed. She wills the continuance of all those rights she has protected without enactment. While she broods over this body of laws and institutions, and her servants daily perform the acts which constitute the life and continuance of that corpus, the party managers come along with their medicines and their scalpels to purge or trim some corner of it. The activity of the most fevered session of the House amounts to no more than that. Much is made of these adjustments, and much ought to be made; but more ought always to be made of the great work of time which is the subject of these meddlesome but necessary treatments.

It is recognized by all theorists of government that their prob-em is to find and define the executive, and it is recognized by Bagehot and Jennings that recent times are (to put it no higher) not marked by any weakening of the executive's powers. Bagehot and Jennings, however, have in effect chosen to place the head of the executive at an intermediate point in the chain of command. They have said virtually that the Cabinet is the beginning and end of government. They have done this partly, no doubt, out of a Whiggish or Progressive horror for the supreme though not for he penultimate heights. Partly, however, they are motivated by an inability to admit a principle of government to which the most exalted advices on our day-to-day affairs would be subordinate. They both have the publicist's touch, and for the publicist day-to-day affairs have a final dignity. Moreover, these matters are those which the popular will, whether of ten thousand or ten million, is supposed mainly to busy itself about and by which it is mainly evidenced. And the Cabinet, even if at a couple of removes, reflects what the people are supposed to think about these matters.

But if the recognition of the importance of the executive means anything at all, it means that the fact that the Cabinet reflects in some measure a popular will of some sort is the least important thing about it. The Cabinet is a government not because it is an outcome of certain electoral procedures but because it governs. It is government not in so far as it obeys the people but in so far as it constrains them. What a government loses when it ceases o be regulated or modified by an electoral procedure is not the power to govern but a certain advisory force which tells it what the people will stand. It can go on governing, but henceforth it has to rely exclusively on other means of informing itself when the worm will turn. Politicians are apt to make something tragic out of the electoral procedures which may result in their losing their jobs. But an electorate which votes in such a way that an existing Cabinet is overthrown is not saying that it will not continue to be governed substantially according to the same laws as before. It is, in effect, not objecting to the things that in general are done but in a greater or less measure to the way in which some of them are done. The Crown in short remains; the Constitution remains the officials, who are the Queen's servants and not the politicians' raise their eyebrows and continue as before, only noting that certain emphases must be slightly changed—and in general Oh how slightly !

The constitutional developments of recent times, and still more the spread of literacy and the frequent allusions to acts of government in even the most widely circulated of the papers called news-papers, have obscured the fact that the so-called popular character of our modern governments is an historical accident Popular institutions are—to use a word which Jennings misapplies to the head of the State—ancillary. It would be perfectly possible to govern England without Parliament or elections. At first there would be merely a prolongation of the administrative peace of the parliamentary recesses. Then, when new legislation was required, it would take the form of Orders in Council. The Departments, carefully consulting the outside world, would produce the material for these enactments as they do for enactments of any kind. Ministers, appointed by the Crown at its own full choice or on the nomination of the Civil Service Commissioners or the Treasury, would come to their offices to decide important matters. Briefed by the officials, they would continue to explain things to the press, to their correspondents, and to those who came to see them in deputation. They would meet from time to time in committees which would be the Cabinet and its committees. There would be a chief among them, who would be Prime Minister, and they would look through him to the head of the State who would give unity and continuity to their miscellaneous acts. Elections, and an elected House of Commons, do not produce a government. They merely modify it. They inform it with life and even with information, and it would be, in the strict sense, an imbecility for a government to dispense with these resources. None the less, a government conducted without them would be less ill-informed than is commonly imagined about the impact of its proposals. Even at present, with the extra-parliamentary consultations that take place, " many wills," as Keir rightly says, " mingle with that of Parliament in the making of a law."[10]

Plain words about the nature of government have always been offensive to the people and to all but the most intrepid of those whose career depends on being elected by them. Whatever Charles I may have meant by the phrase, there is a sense in which the assertion that government is " nothing pertaining to " the people is not controversial but is a statement of inescapable principle. A government must be a compact body with a central point and capable of rational communication between its parts. It must be capable of acting as an entity on the larger body of society and compelling that larger body to act as an entity, but an entity more loosely knit than the government, and not necessarily with any rational communication between its parts, so that the government may divide and rule, cajoling one section of its society with one argument and another with another. It may of course try to persuade the governed that it is so responsive to their wishes that it is really hardly a government at all. But that is a kind of ballyhoo, practised, incidentally, with most thoroughness by governments like Hitler's or Stalin's, which enforce their wills most ruthlessly and in the most intimate departments of their subjects' lives. The essence of a government consists in being obeyed, and we learn this quickly enough if we refuse to pay our income tax or decline to present ourselves for military service. The part of the people, in contradistinction to that of the government, consists in obeying. Naturally the fact is not much advertised by politicians who are allowed to share in the governing only on the pretext that they represent us. Charles I, who was not interested in this aspect of the matter, could speak more freely, even if only at the price of his head.

The general horror with which the pure theory of government has always been regarded—well illustrated by the *succès de scandale* of Machiavelli—is by no means without foundation. It is obscurely felt that to talk too openly of these matters is likely to have an unfortunate effect on the way in which government is in fact conducted, just as it is felt that too public a recognition of our private lusts may end in an intolerable disorder. But just as it is salutary not to deceive ourselves about our sexual appetites it is salutary to remember that, politically, we live in a system of force modified, as the expression of our appetites is modified, by traditions as ancient as our race. It is, roughly speaking, the claim of political parties that they stand for this modification and not for the system of force that is modified. In our own Constitution, there is a certain truth in this. If the elected elements influence and inform a permanent executive rather than themselves constitute it, and influence and inform it in such a way as to render it more tolerable, they may plausibly claim to be on the side of civilization rather than of the naked appetite. None the less, in so far as they tend, through the necessities of the electoral system, to exaggerate their own benign influence and to conceal the extent to which the executive is not so much changed as given new force by their election, their influence is obscurantist. There is a tendency to contrast a wicked past, when terrible things were done behind the back of Parliament, with the present Golden Age in which, because actions of State are in general the subject of a vote in the House, nothing really wicked can be done. It is as if the executive had been touched for a sort of King's Evil by this formal contact with the public will. This way of looking at things is a little less than honest. As to the nature of what happens in Parliament, one must at least take into account such views as those of a very perspicacious observer who wrote: " Members carry on a ceaseless mock debate with one another, inside and outside Parliament—a debate that has little relation to any of the real issues of the day, and all real political discussion is outside Parliament and between people who are not members. It is only the man who is not handicapped by the letters 'M.P.' after his name who is free to tell the truth about politics."[11]

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[10] Keir, p. 463.

While the politician, by his insistence on his *representative* character, tends to obscure the fact of the separateness of government and people, he tends also, by suggesting that his is the only legitimate creative rôle in the State, to denigrate the State which exists independently of the politician's rôle. The orthodox theory may be said to be that the State, starting with the Queen at its head and descending to the humblest clerk behind a government counter, is neutral. In a certain limited connotation of the term, that is true, and is, moreover, an excellent thing. Neither the Queen nor her officials are to be associated with any political party; they work independently of all, because their functions demand that they take a view in which the most hotly-contested policies of parties can be seen as parts of a longer perspective. But the neutrality of the Crown neither is nor should be absolute. An absolute neutrality would involve a policy of individual self-interest in which the State itself would quickly dissolve. A less absolute form of neutrality, such as is much more likely to develop, and may be said in some measure actually to have developed, would consist of making a religion of bowing before *force majeure*.[12] The forces would be assumed always to be tolerable on the grounds that the permanent State must always look outside itself for its regulative force. This view of things has a certain charm, because it seems to promise a government responsive to the changes in society, and if a State is to endure it must show a large responsiveness. None the less, there are evident limits to the tolerance the State can properly exhibit. The most obvious limitation is that it cannot tolerate, to a point at which they become a real menace to its existence, suicidal tendences in its society. It cannot tolerate treason. That will in general be readily conceded, and it may be said to fit into the logic of *force majeure* if one assumes (what may, however, be doubted) that treason can only be of the minority. But that is surely not all. Unless one maintains the right of an executive to exercise any bestiality on its subjects, it must not evade the responsibility of making a positive contribution to society. For all the horror of what is called ideological government, a government having no principle but self-preservation must surely, in the last analysis, be worse.

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[11] Christopher Hollis, M.P.: *Can Parliament Survive?* (*Everybody's Weekly*, January 12, 1952).

The limitations of the tolerance of the State are expressed primarily in the sovereign. There are no doubt persons who can recite the Oath of Allegiance and regard it merely as a form of words conveying a reality which they might not well explain but which they vaguely hope is more popular. None the less, any conception of treason as being something other than, in the last analysis infidelity to the Queen, is bound to prove a form of evasion. The final safeguard of our unity is a point of unity in a single Person present on the throne by hereditary right and form of law. If we depart from that, we admit the legitimacy of faction. No doubt i is only in the most desperate troubles, such as we pray we shall be preserved from, that that Person would present herself to us so directly. But it is well that we should not allow sloppy ideas to obscure what would be our duty in such an emergency. We have in our generation seen in Europe such national divisions as can leave no doubt that it is not desirable that, in a final crisis, the choice of a guide should be left to our individual whims. What Keir calls the monarch's "final responsibility for the national interest"[13] can mean only, in the last desperate case to which no precedent is equal, that the Queen must be the judge of the fate of the nation. And if treason is not the only thing the State should decline to tolerate, other positive elements must find expression in the Queen as head of the executive, and in appropriate, more partial, forms in her various servants. No doubt, in the public mind, the conception of the Queen can contain no more than that mind contains. That is to say, the monarchy will be seen through the only explicit ideas that the largely secularized and press-fed populace has access to. But the sovereign of England is an Anglican, and only those ignorant of the superior force of a coherent and comprehensive body of ideas over an incoherent and partial, can suppose that this fact is without a national significance which will end only with the monarchy. The Queen adheres to the only religion possible in the West, and to that form of it which is most surely embedded in our millennial English traditions.

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[12] There is a sense in which this has always been the religion of officials. Cf. Winston S. Churchill on the character of Sunderland: ". . . . . a competent official, one of those dangerous beings who, with many gifts of mind, have no principle of action; who do not care what is done, so long as they are in the centre of it." (*Marlborough,* Vol. I, 1933, p. 276).

The ultimately religious character of the monarchy is to many a matter of derision. We have Kingsley Martin sneering at the suggestion that the Coronation "would in some way be rendered inefficacious if it were not exclusively solemnized by an Archbishop."[14] Such persons should distinguish between their own incredulity and the nature of the thing. Their smiles are in imitation

[13] Keir, p. 491.

[14] Kingsley Martin: *The Magic of Monarchy* (1937), p. 9.

of Voltaire who, after all, lived before Frazer and even before Fustel de Coulanges. Do what we will, religion moves our secuarised society as the appetites of sex move none the less the man or woman who denies them. If we deny our ancient motives, it s out of a will to frustrate ourselves and bring our country to ruin. The monarchy, perfectly adapted to the needs of a modern society, s so in part because it can draw its loyalty from the deepest wells. So long as we have the Queen, her heirs and successors, England could remain conscious of herself and give play to her deepest energies even after the most appalling national catastrophes. If he mechanical civilization of the West should one day break down, and we can no longer ignore the possibility, that nation will most readily re-assert itself which can immediately re-establish, around he indubitable leader to whom a thousand years of history point, a compact and simple administration.

The Principles of Paul Elmer More

By RUSSELL KIRK

WALKING with More, once, along a street in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Irving Babbitt suddenly clenched his hands and exclaime to his friend, " Great God, man, are you a Jesuit in disguise?" Babbitt, a theistic humanist, endeavoured all his life to teach himself tolerance toward churches; but it was otherwise with Pa Elmer More; and that far-ranging critic of ideas writes, with something like a smile, " I never have been able to answer that questio satisfactorily."

Though he was born in Missouri, More stands eminently in th tradition of New England thought—as, indeed, so much that called " Middle Western " in modern America really is the New England mind and character transplanted. With a sense of dedication rare in his generation, while still a young man he retired to the hamlet of Shelburne, in New Hampshire, seeking the grave leisure and the dispassionate view of our time which a man must have if he is to contend intelligently with our modern complexities; and then, returning into the world, a bearded giant of a man, very like a prophet, he struggled as lecturer and essayist and editor of the *Nation* against the pragmatism of James, the naturalism of Dewey, the sentimentality of the socialists, the presumption of a people who had forgotten the truth of dualism. He disciplined himself into mastery of English prose style; and as a critic of ideas, perhaps there has not been his peer in England or America since Coleridge. " All differences of opinion," Manning once observed, " are at bottom theological." More's adherence to this principle became his great strength; commencing as a thorough sceptic, he ended as the most eminent Anglican thinker in the history of the United States, possibly the most redoubtable American writer on apologetics of any communion.

The first of the eleven volumes of More's *Shelburne Essays* was published in 1904. Through this glowing critical series, through the five volumes of *The Greek Tradition*, through the *New Shelburne Essays* that were published in the last decade of his life runs a stern continuity: the insistence that for our salvation in this world and the other, we must look to things of the spirit, accept the duality of human nature, remind ourselves that the present moment is of small consequence in the mysterious system of being. If, with William James, we resign ourselves to the stream of time and change, we invite inner and outer catastrophe:

> Sometimes as I consider with myself how this illusion daily more and more enthralls and impoverishes our mental life by cutting off from it all the rich experience of the past, it is as though we were at sea in a vessel, while a fog thickened, closing in upon our vision with ever narrower circle, blotting out the far-flashing lights of the horizon and the depths of the sky, throwing a pall upon the very waves about us, until we move forward through a sullen obscurity, unaware of any other traveller upon that sea, save when through the fog the sound of a threatening alarm beats upon the ear.

So More writes in the seventh volume of *Shelburne Essays.* Much read in Burke and Newman, More understood that when generation thus ceases to link spiritually with generation, first civilization and then human existence itself must shrivel. And men will ignore the past and the future, he came to believe, without a pervasive belief in the reality of supernatural things. Men must lead a double life, More declared in concluding the first volume of the *Essays,* balancing between the law for man and the law for thing, never losing the distinction between his public and his private duty. Our modern social confusion, intellectually considered, is the consequence of confounding the sphere of private morality with the sphere of public activity. This is the enormous error of the humanitarians. When the religious impulse is contracted to mere "brotherhood of man," fratricide is not far distant. Near the end of the third volume of the *New Shelburne Essays* (1936), More repeated this declaration: "The one effective weapon of the Church in her campaign against the unnecessary evils of society, her one available instrument for bringing into play some measure of true justice as distinct from the ruthless law of competition and from the equally ruthless will to power of the proletariat, is through the restoration in the individual human soul of a sense of responsibility extending beyond the grave." *Pleonexia,* the "perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death," can be restrained by no force in this world—solely by an inner human check which is of supernatural origin.

Its religious instincts suppressed or bewildered, our society must find its way back to permanence, or die. Modern romanticism and modern science, though superficially inimical, share a disastrous impressionism; for both have surrendered to the theory of ceaseless flux, with no principle of judgment except the shifting pleasure of the individual. This is Pragmatism, the cancer of our intellect. In such times, the man of conscience must declare boldly that he is a reactionary; otherwise formlessness in philosophy and letters will become formlessness in society, impotent acceptance of change, leading to the individualism of Cobden or the collectivism of Marx—in either case, the stifling of civilization by material forces; or, this bulwark failing in turn, then anarchy. " The saying has gone abroad that strength means joy in change and that he who would question change is reactionary and effeminate." Yet is a reactionary nothing more than a coward before innovation, a mere slave of the Past? " Reaction may be, and in the true sense is, something utterly different from this futile dreaming; it is essentially to answer action with action, to oppose to the welter of circumstance the force of discrimination and selection, to direct the aimless tide of change by reference to the co-existing law of the immutable fact, to carry the experiences of the past into the diverse impulses of the present, and so to move forward in an orderly progression," he writes in *On Being Human* (the third volume of the *New Shelburne Essays*). " If any young man, feeling now within himself the power of accomplishment, hesitates to be called a reactionary, in the better use of this term, because of the charge of effeminacy, let him take courage."

A manual to candid and intelligent reaction against the philosophy of flux is *Aristocracy and Justice*, the ninth volume of the *Shelburne Essays* (1915). How are men to be saved from themselves? How are they to be saved from their drifting lassitude, the product of a facile evolutionary philosophy, which must end (if not arrested) in a catastrophe of which the war that began in 1914 is merely a foreshadowing? In the realm of society, men require an aristocracy to lead them aright. To acknowledge this aristocracy, we must be frankly and nobly reactionary. " We have the naked question to answer: How shall a society, newly shaking itself free from a disguised plutocratic régime, be guided to suffer the persuasion of a natural aristocracy which has none of the insignia of

old prescription to impose its authority?" To persuade vic-
rious democracy that it must resurrect aristocracy: this is the
emendous practical problem in our politics.

The cant phrase that "the cure of democracy is more demo-
acy" is a lie; the real cure must be not more, but *better*
mocracy. Improvement never can come from the mass itself;
must be the work of natural aristocracy, which "does not demand
e restoration of inherited privilege or a relapse into the crude
minion of money; it is not synonymous with oligarchy or pluto-
acy. It calls rather for some machinery or some social conscious-
ss which shall ensure both the selection from among the com-
unity at large of the 'best' and the bestowal on them of 'power';
is the true consummation of democracy." Our first step toward
e creation or resuscitation of natural aristocracy ought to be a
form of our institutions of higher learning.

Like a great old tree, our society has been dying at the top.
he educated classes are in danger of turning traitors to the
vilization which sustains them—deluded by humanitarianism,
rhaps ignorant of their own proper duties. "At other times the
prehension has been lest the combined forces of order might not
strong enough to withstand the ever-threatening inroads of those
ho envy barbarously or desire recklessly; whereas to-day the doubt
whether the natural champions of order themselves shall be found
yal to their trust, for they seem no longer to remember clearly
e word of command that should unite them in leadership."

Socialists like G. Lowes Dickinson count upon a "slow, half-
nscious detachment of all of them [the leaders of modern society]
ho have intelligence and moral force from the interest and active
pport of their class." The movement has progressed far already.
at decay of the venerable humanistic intellectual discipline in
gher education, of which the adjustment of university studies to
vocational purposes" is a part, is a chief cause of this bewilder-
ent or treason of the clerisy. We have forgotten the Magna Carta
our education—Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour*.

The scheme of the humanist might be described in a word as a
sciplining of the higher faculty of the imagination to the end that
e student may behold, as it were in one sublime vision, the whole
ale of being in its range from the lowest to the highest under the
vine decree of order and subordination, without losing sight of the

immutable veracity at the heart of all development, which 'is onl the praise and surname of virtue.' This was no new vision, nor ha it ever been quite forgotten. It was the whole meaning of religio to Hooker, from whom it passed into all that is best and leas ephemeral in the Anglican Church. It was the basis, more modestl expressed, of Blackstone's conception of the British Constitutio and of liberty under law. It was the kernel of Burke's theory o statecraft. It is the inspiration of the sublimer science, whic accepts the hypothesis of evolution as taught by Darwin an Spencer, yet bows in reverence before the unnamed and incommensurate force lodged as a mystical purpose within the unfoldin universe." Lacking such an education, men have no hold upo the past; they are at the mercy of every wind of doctrine.

For real liberty—the liberty of true distinction, not the fierc levelling freedom of envy—the leaders of society require a libera education. With such a discipline, they can serve as a true natura aristocracy, mediating between plutocracy and equalitarian democracy. The soul of this humanistic discipline is study of the classics; they teach man the meaning of Time, and " confirm him in his better judgment against the ephemeral and vulgarizing solicitations of the hour." When our universities and colleges devote themselves to turning out specialists and technicians and businessmen, they deprive society of its intellectual aristocracy and, presently, undermine the very social tranquillity upon which modern specialization and technical achievement are founded.

Yet the precise means of ensuring the life of a natural aristocracy is not so important a question as the principle upon which a true aristocracy will manage the affairs of mankind. That principle is Justice, and the existence of civilization hangs on this. But how may Justice be defined? More offers a series of definitions, with the aim of demolishing the sentimental term " social justice " which has been so useful an instrument to radicalism. Put very simply, justice is " the act of right distribution, the giving to each man his due "; but that, to have real meaning, requires further definition of *right* and *due*. When we examine more closely the impulse called justice, we find that it is " the inner state of the soul when, under the command of the will to righteousness, reason guides and the desires obey "—or, briefly, " Justice is happiness, happiness is justice." What, then, is social justice? More condemns impartially Nietzsche's "will to power" and its opposite, the humanitarian, socialistic ideal of absolute equality. Social justice, instead, is "such a distribution of power and privilege, and of property as the symbol and instrument of these, as at once will satisfy the distinctions of reason among the superior, and will not outrage the feelings of the inferior." No absolute rule exists for striking this balance, no more than there is any absolute code of morals for individual conduct; but the same criterion applies to it that is our means of approaching individual justice: "Social justice and personal justice both are measured by happiness." The legislator must distinguish nicely between superiority and egotism, special merit and public contentment. It is a work of mediation, of compromise, and we must resign ourselves to the fact that along with justice there always must remain some individual deprivation or scarcity, which we are too prone to call "injustice." We are not perfect nor perfectible creatures; and if we could be in harmony with Nature, we must not damn the nature of things (like Porson trying to blow out the mirrored image of a candle-flame) and demand that absolute Justice which does not reside in this world.

Property, without which civilization cannot endure, really is "the magnifying of that natural injustice [the initial inequality of men] into that which you may deplore as unnatural injustice, but which is a fatal necessity, nevertheless. This is the truth, hideous if you choose to make it so to yourself, not without its benevolent aspect to those, whether the favourites of fortune or not, who are themselves true—ineluctable at least." Unless we call civilization a mistake, any attempt to ignore natural inequality and propertied inequality is sure to cause general unhappiness. "Security of property is the first and all-essential duty of a civilized community." Life is a primitive thing; we share it with the beasts; but property is the mark of man alone, the means of civilization; therefore, says More in a bold phrase which has infuriated his humanitarian opponents, "To the civilized man the *rights of property are more important than the right to life.*"

He goes further still. So important is property to truly human existence, that even if men rob under cover of the laws (for no set of laws can be perfect), "It is better that legal robbery should exist along with the maintenance of law, than that legal robbery should be suppressed at the expense of law." For the worst thing which can happen to law is its over-extension, its expansion to fields in which it cannot be competent; then disrespect for all law in all its capacities will become general. If you deny a fact, the fact will control you. This is true of property. "You may to a certain extent control it and make it subservient to the ideal nature of man; but the moment you deny its rights, or undertake to legislate in defiance of them, you may for a time unsettle the very foundations of society, you will certainly in the end render property your despot instead of your servant, and so produce a materialized and debased civilization."

When property is insecure, the spirit of materialism flourishes In such times of want, intellectual leisure is denounced popularly as abnormal and anti-social; the scholar is detested. "There is something at once comical and vicious in the spectacle of those men of property who take advantage of their leisure to dream out vast benevolent schemes which would render their own self-satisfied career impossible." Private ownership, production, and distribution are indispensable to the progress of society; and we need to strengthen ourselves "against the insidious charms of a misapplied idealism." Transfer the ancient prerogatives of property to the labour which produces property, and our venerable institutions, the Church and the University most of all, are in terrible peril. "For if property is secure, it may be the means to an end, whereas if it is insecure it will be the end itself."

In a century when the aristocratic principle, the classical idea of justice, and the institution of property all are menaced, what effective stand can conservatives take? Great advantages are with the radicals—the seductions of flattery, the opportunism which deals with immediate material needs to the exclusion of distant considerations, the force of humanitarian sympathies. "It is not strange, therefore, that the history of England since the Revolution of 1688, with intervals of timid delay, has been the record of a gradual yielding to the steady thrust of opportunism." The conservative can appeal to the imagination of men; but he must be sure that his own imagination is sound and true. The conservative must make certain of the rectitude of his own morality. He has now to contend against the New Morality, that vague but virulent social passion which, if it means anything, "means the reconstruction of life at the level of the gutter." Humanitarianism, usurping the place of the Church, endeavours to ignore the existence of Sin and to erect sympathy into a social theory leaving individual responsibility out of account. Sympathy and justice are confounded.

Confronted with such disheartening odds, the conservative must retire into himself for a space, so that he will remember " that his nature is not simple and single, but dual," a reflection of incalculable ethical value. Within him is a truer self, an inner check, " unchanged amid continual change, of everlasting validity above the shifting values of the moment." Guided by this intuition, " he will know that the obligation to society is not the primal law and is not the source of personal integrity, but is secondary to personal integrity. He will believe that social justice is in itself desirable, but he will hold that it is far more important to preach first the responsibiity of each man to himself for his own character." Abjuring cant, he will discover a fortitude which may yet suffice to defend the old morality against a collective and sentimental humanitarianism which, without conservative opposition, would devour its own sustenance.

And by way of conclusion, More undertakes a final definition of justice: " the Everlasting Morality of distinctions and of voluntary direction opposed to the so-called New Morality of drifting." Aristocratic leadership and a voluntary society are allied naturally; the morality of flux rapidly sweeps through the stage of humanitarianism into the stage of collective compulsion. Politics leads to morals.

Morals, in turn, lead to religious faith. In the last volume of the *Shelburne Essays,* More suggests that fear is an inevitable factor in human conduct; and, religious fear absent, men soon become subject to fears of a description more immediate and more difficult to propitiate, the fear of class war, or of destitution, or of subjugation to the machine. " As we contemplate the world converted into a huge machine and managed by engineers, we gradually grow aware of its lack of meaning, of its emptiness of human value; the soul is stifled in this glorification of mechanical efficiency. And then we begin to feel the weakness of such a creed when confronted by the real problems of life; we discover its inability to impose any restraint on the passions of men, or to supply any government which can appeal to the loyalty of the spirit. And seeing these things we understand the fear that is gnawing at the vitals of society." Humanitarianism, having dissolved the old loyalties and prescriptions, finds itself defenceless before the boss, the union-leader, the political policeman, the very pitiless machine-society it had welcomed. Fear, like injustice and sin, will not be eradicated from the world; but the fear of modern civilization is a terror peculiarly hideous. What is to be done? " It looks as if, first of all, we needed somehow or other to get the fear of God back into society."

This said, Paul Elmer More turned to the second great phase of his contribution to American philosophy and letters, that study of Platonism and Christianity which he called *The Greek Tradition.* In *Platonism* and in *The Religion of Plato,* he reviewed Platonic dualism, with its distinct realms of idea and matter, recognizing in man the existence of a power beyond himself. He traced the revolt of Stoic and Epicurean monistic systems against this dualism in *Hellenistic Philosophies.* Next, in *The Christ of the New Testament,* he wrote the most important American work of Christian apologetics, assailing the modernists with all the weight of his erudition and all the majesty of his style. Belief in the Incarnation is in conformity with reason; for the supernatural, if it is to be apprehended clearly by man, must make itself felt in natural forms; and historical evidences for the powers of Christ carry overwhelming conviction. " At least of Christianity, whatever may be said of other forms of faith," he wrote later, in *The Catholic Faith,* " one thing is certain, that it depends upon revelation, that without revelation the belief of the Christian is a baseless assumption." With *Christ the Word,* More completed his vindication of orthodoxy; and though these books cannot be discussed adequately here, they dealt a most serious blow to the theological modernism of the twentieth century, establishing strongly that premise of metaphysical dualism which More's critical and social ideas were built upon. An heir to the Puritan mind, More had perceived that Puritanism, with all its dogged power, still remained only a courageous negation; and he returns to an affirmation as bold in the twentieth century as Puritanical dissent had been in the seventeenth century.

" *The Shelburne Essays* and the five volumes of *The Greek Tradition,*" Mr. Walter Lippmann once wrote, " are more than the monumental work of a literary critic. They are a record of continuous religious discovery within a nature that combines in exquisite proportions a delicate sensibility with a hard-headed instinct or reality. It makes no particular difference whether one agrees ith all his particular judgments; to read him is to enter an austere nd elevated realm of ideas and to know a man who, in the guise of critic, is authentically concerned with the first and last things of uman experience." There is nothing in American letters, for nion of constancy with power of execution, like More's prolonged ountermine to radical naturalism in philosophy, radical humani-arianism in social controversy, sentimentalism in criticism. He esolved to counteract the influence of men like John Dewey, "with precious panacea for the calamities of history," infatuated of eoterism, the itch for change; and certainly the pragmatists seem nhappily simple by the side of More. For him, sin and redemption, ustice and grace, were realities which the naturalists can ignore nly at the cost of brutalizing society; and, after half a century of ontroversy, the tide appears to be turning sharply in More's favour.

He knew that a high conservatism requires imagination; he new that it requires something even rarer and nobler, consecration. It is true that religion, or religious philosophy, as its friends and oes have seen from the beginning, is an alleviator of discontent and brake upon innovation," More said in 1921: "but the content it ffers from the world of immaterial values is a necessary counter-oise to the mutual envy and materialistic greed of the natural man, nd the conservatism it inculcates is not the ally of sullen and pre-atory privilege but of orderly amelioration." These are the senti-ents of a reactionary philosopher who dignified reaction, who eminded a hurrying generation that the American and the English nd the Christian and the Greek pasts are not dead, and that the ream of being in which the pragmatists splash may be tumbling own to a Dead Sea. Between the pessimism of Henry Adams he representative of the preceding generation, dismayed by the eories of Darwin and Faraday) and the strong faith of More is a asm, and its presence is a barrier against that devouring deter-inism which has ravaged most modern literature and imperilled odern civilization.

RESERVE

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St. Paul's Theory of Knowledge

By C. B. ARMSTRONG

At first sight it would appear that St. Paul would have as narrow an estimate of the possibilities of human knowledge as Bertrand Russell and a contempt for it equal to that of Karl Barth. This impression is collected from a number of depreciatory passages which appear to justify it, and which are often quoted against philosophers. The Gentiles, pretending to be σοφοὶ were made fools (Romans I, 22) They were frustrated in their reasonings (*ib.* 21); God abandoned them to an ἀδόκιμον νοῦν (*ib.* 28); " mind not high things " (μὴ τὰ υψηλὰ φρονοῦντες) (*ib.* xii, 16). Paul was sent to preach " not in wisdom of word " (I Cor. i, 17); " Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? for seeing that, in the wisdom of God, the world through wisdom knew not God . . . ." (*ib.* 20, 21); " the foolishness of God is wiser than men " (*ib.* 25); " The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God " (*ib.* iii, 19); " Though we walk in the flesh we do not war according to the flesh . . . . casting down reasonings (λογισμοὺς καθαιροῦντες) and every high thing that exalts itself against the γνῶσις of God, and making captive every thought (νόημα) to the obedience of Christ " (II Cor. x, 3, 5). The Gentiles walk " in the vanity of their minds, being darkened in their thinking " (Eph. iv, 17, 18); " Take heed lest there be anyone who maketh spoil of you through philosophy and vain deceit " (Col. ii, 8); " Vainly puffed up by his natural mind " (ὑπὸ τοῦ νοὸς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ) (*ib.* 18); *cf.* also " distraught about problems and Λογομαχίαι " (I Tim. vi, 4) and μὴ λογομαχεῖν to no useful end, to the subverting of the hearers (II Tim. ii, 4).

A contempt for philosophical reasoning is clear from the above, and may well have been derived from experience. For it was not possible to be a citizen of Tarsus, with its Stoic school, and familiar with other Greek cities of the day, without being aware of the barren controversies of the schoolmen, initiated by the Sceptics and, in the Academy, by the sceptical movement of Arcesilaus and Carneades brilliantly enough, but by the first century A.D. degenerated to profitless arguments of sectaries on minor issues. It was a dull and unoriginal period of Greek thought; the masters were studied in excerpts and text-books for the most part, and were not well-known; St. Paul himself shows no trace of the influence of Plato or Aristotle. The issues were no longer clear-cut, for eclecticism was widespread, nor were they vital. Greek rationalism had gone bankrupt for the time being; some new impulse was needed, and had not yet been received. The "logomachies" of the period account for and amply deserved the Apostle's contempt. Philosophy, as he knew it, could not commend itself to a thinker of his calibre.

Yet as a constructive theologian St. Paul is not unphilosophical. Beneath a somewhat unsystematic exposition there lies a great theological system—the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ and of our incorporation into it. Not only is the conception of it philosophically possible, but also its exposition in the epistles is intricate and exacting in its reasoning. Nor does he expect his readers to be children in understanding. As against the passages quoted above, there can be set out another group from which it is apparent that, although St. Paul decries φιλοσοφία he by no means despises σοφία; the Christian σοφός will require and use the same qualities of mind as go to make the φιλόσοφος; the effect of faith in our Lord will be to enhance, and not to supersede, the normal mental processes. These latter, even without faith, can achieve a certain knowledge of God (τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ) (Romans i, 19); "for the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world, being brought to notice through created things, are perceived (τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται), even his everlasting power and divinity"; it is in their reasonings on these that men went astray (*ib.* 21).

With faith, owing to an altered situation which we shall proceed to discuss, the normal mental processes remain operative, but their power is enhanced. Morally, when the δικαιοσύνη revealed in Christ is known, it is applied by the rational will "with my νοῦς I serve the law of God" (Romans vii, 25—where νοῦς is contrasted with σάρξ in Platonic style). Christians are to be changed by the renewal of their νοῦς (Romans xii, 2). In the next verse they are told φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, to apply practical moral wisdom. But, beyond practical ethics, the Apostle says very strikingly (in I Cor. i, 5): "In everything ye are enriched by Him", ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν παντὶ γνώσει . . . using two terms especially applicable to human rationality, and (*ib.* 30) it is said that Christ was made σοφία to us, though σοφία here means more than wisdom of the intellect. However (I Cor. ii, 6, 7) he says explicitly "We speak wisdom among them that are τέλειοι —the wisdom of God in mystery, even the hidden wisdom": and although such wisdom is not quite philosophy in our sense, it implies an intellectual activity of the same kind, though of theological, rather than of philosophical content. Further, the gifts of the Spirit to man (I Cor. xii, 8) are partly intellectual. "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge." Christians, accordingly, (I Cor. xiv, 20) are not to be children in their minds, but τέλειοι, , "full grown men". "Every thought" is to be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ (2 Cor. x, 5). The wealth of God's grace abounds in all σοφία and φρόνησις (Eph. i, 8) and (*ib.* 17) he prays that the Ephesians may be given πνεῦμα σοφίας. So, also, Christians are to be " renewed in the spirit of their minds " (Eph. iv, 23) and to " think upon " (λογίζεσθαι) whatsoever things are true, noble, just, and holy (Phil. iv, 8). They are to be filled with the knowledge of God's will " in all wisdom and spiritual understanding " (Col. i, 9) and this (*ib.* 11) will issue in power of practical virtue.

St. Paul, too, represents (Col. i, 28, 29) his own mission and teaching as " in all wisdom ". He speaks of Christians as having the mind of Christ (I Cor. ii, 16), " in whom are hidden all the treasures of σοφία and γνῶσις (Col. ii, 3). The λόγος of Christ is, he prays, to dwell in the Colossians ἐν πάσῃ σοφί-ᾳ (Col. iii, 16).

The cumulative effect of all these passages is striking. Here we have no anti-intellectualism, no contempt of rationality, but rather a deep respect for σοφία as the highest function of human personality, and a desire that converts may understand as well as believe.

In fact it would appear that after the accession of faith the rational processes remain much the same, but they have received an aid and an orientation which make a profound difference in their fruitfulness. To say at this stage that this aid is the gift of the Holy Spirit, and this orientation is belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ would merely antagonize rationalistic philosophers; so it is necessary first to set out in detail the novel epistemological theory which is implicit in St. Paul's writings.

It should first be noticed that (a) a limited knowledge of God is considered to be attainable by human reason, as we have seen above (p. 2); and that in particular (b) natural reason does not leave men destitute of moral sense or conscience. The Gentiles " do by nature the things of the law " and " show the work of the law written in their hearts " (Rom. ii, 14). This is because (a) conscience is a witness to the law of God and (b) their own ethical disputations and reasonings lead in the same direction (*ib.* 15). When this is taken with St. Paul's previous condemnation (Rom. i, 21) of the Gentiles for falling into error by their διαλόγισμοι, though having knowledge of God, it is clear that he does not rule out natural theology as valueless. It fails because men's minds are darkened by their passions, and liable to err; as they did not " discern to have God ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, God gave them over to an ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, an undiscerning mind. It was part of the price of human freedom.

From many passages it is evident that ἐπίγνωσις is the key-word for Pauline epistemology. Philosophers and theologians of any originality have occasionally to coin or adopt key-words to express novel conceptions. The verb ἐπιγινώσκειν is not used for intellectual or rational knowledge; it is used of recognizing, witnessing or scrutinizing. Its noun ἐπίγνωσις was a late Greek term used by Polybius for " scrutiny " and by Plutarch for " acquaintance with ". Grimm's definition " precise and correct knowledge " is contradicted at once by what follows, " used in the N.T. of things ethical and divine ", which cannot be known " precisely " and " correctly ". Lightfoot on Colossians i, 9, is somewhat better: "The compound ἐπίγνωσις is an advance upon γνῶσις, denoting a larger and more thorough knowledge". "It is used especially of the knowledge of God and Christ". Ἐπίγνωσις was, in fact, just the word St. Paul required to express the kind of knowledge which is the clue to his epistemology, knowledge directed or illuminated by faith in Jesus Christ. It was a rare and unattached word; it could be contrasted with γνῶσις, firm intellectual knowledge, and the prefixed ἐπι-—could denote "super"—knowledge, knowledge "directed towards", or "after"—knowledge, the knowledge after πίστις. γνῶσις itself is a firm and strong word, which needs no supplement, such as Lightfoot suggests, in breadth and thoroughness. What St. Paul wanted was a word to contrast with γνῶσις and to denote knowledge directed and illuminated by a key-insight of a vital, and not merely an intellectual, kind. It supplements and fulfils knowledge derived from sense-experience and from reason, because it comes from spiritual discernment as well.

Ἐπίγνωσις is more than knowledge derived from intellectual processes; it enhances rather than supersedes them, producing a σοφία beyond the powers of the unaided intellect. γνῶσις is of the mind alone; ἐίπγνωσις springs from the whole personality. Its elementary form is a kind of moral discernment and a kind of assurance of God and "recognition" of his operation which might have been reached by natural theology. Because the Gentiles οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν Θεὸν ἕιχεν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει God gave them over to an ἀδόκιμον νοῦν (Rom. i, 28), whereas the ἐπίγνωσις resulting from faith and love will lead to discernment, ἐς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα (Phil. i, 9) and especially to moral discernment. The Jews differed from Gentiles in having ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας through their law; God has given them divine guidance in this. But, in them, it goes no further towards the full ἐπίγνωσις Θεοῦ. They have indeed ζῆλον Θεοῦ, but not κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν (Rom. x, 2). When Moses is read the veil lies upon their hearts, (II Cor. iii, 15), the veil which is taken away when men turn to Christ.

Faith in Him results in a true moral discernment, which is one aspect of ἐπίγνωσις. St. Paul prays for Philemon (v. 6) that the fellowship of his faith may become effective ἐν ἐπιγνώσει παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ. It is the knowledge of God's will (Col. i, 9). But it is more than this: in the same verse this knowledge is said to be ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ συνεσει πνευματικῇ. The fullness of this understanding, πληροφορία τῆς συνέσεως (Col. ii, 2) is ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ "in whom are hidden all the treasures of σοφία and γνῶσις" (*ib.*) [Whatever the text of this verse may be, none of the variant readings affects the sense; the "mystery" is the Godhead of Christ]. Ἐπίγνωσις is primarily discernment of God (Col. i, 10) or, more explicitly, of God in Christ *cf.* Eph. iv, 13, "till we all attain unto the unity of πίστις and of the ἐπίγνωσις of the Son of God, unto the fullness of manhood, unto the measure of the maturity of the πλήρωμα of Christ". This knowledge of Christ is the supreme truth which illuminates all other truth. It results in πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως (Eph. i, 17). In passages of the Pastoral epistles, of lesser importance, it is spoken of generally as " knowledge of truth " (I Tim. ii, 4; II Tim. iii, 7); it comes from a change of mental and moral outlook, μετάνοια (II Tim. ii, 25); and the truth is spoke of as κατ' εὐσέβειαν.

The essential point, to St. Paul's mind, is that Christians are to become τέλειοι not only morally but also in wisdom and understanding when they are " born of God " and know Christ as living and divine; the " new man " is " being renewed to ἐπίγνωσις according to the image of his Creator " (Col. iii, 10).

The kind of knowledge denoted by ἐπίγνωσις, having its origin in the wholeness of manhood, also illuminates the whole life, and not the intellect only. Love, for example, may abound in ἐπίγνωσις more and more (Phil. i, 9) increasing in spiritual discernment, συνέσις πνευματική, and the δόκιμος νοῦς which the Gentiles lacked. The " eyes of the heart " are enlightened (Eph. i, 18). The moral sense is intensified by it. It is as though man had at last received his right orientation in spirit and in mind by personal contact with the perfect Man and by faith in Him.

For ἐπίγνωσις is not Faith but the result of Faith; it is an enrichment of the mind, using " mind " in the widest sense, resulting from the spiritual union with Christ which faith effects.

πίστις in philosophical language expressed strong personal conviction, but a conviction not reached by rational processes; it might or might not be true, and the grounds on which it was based were often fallacious. It came to connote personal trust of one man in another. No ordinary man has a right to claim that such trust should be absolute. The fact that our Lord constantly did so is an indication of his claim to be the Son of God. The acceptance of that claim by Christians transformed the meaning πίστις from that of fallible human confidence to a sublime personal assurance stronger for them than any intellectual proof. Such a confidence has been rightly assumed by theologians to be beyond human power to achieve, and to be the gift of God.

It came gradually to the Apostles, to St. Peter first, and to all after the resurrection. God prepares men for it in various ways by his prevenient grace. This grace is especially manifested in operation in our Lord's earthly ministry: it continues to operate through " those who are Christ's " as individuals and corporately through his Church, and through all the influence thus exerted in the world. That influence prepares, for souls, the conditions in which faith may be given. In St. Paul's own case there was a long battle in which the condition requisite for the gift was being produced subconsciously by his " kicking against the pricks," and consciously by what he saw of those whom he persecuted. One element in that preparation we know— St. Stephen's martyrdom. There must have been other similar experiences of what Christ meant to his followers. He knew his " Old

Testament background" intimately and expertly; and he knew what Christians were saying about the Messiah and the Resurrection. He was ready for the illumination of the Damascus road because he could no longer resist. No doubt he inwardly despaired of his policy and of himself. So that, although faith came to him by a sudden gift of God, it was prepared for, not by any striving to attain it on his part, but by the crux of human recalcitrance against a growing conviction. We see the same process in St. Augustine and many others. Man is made for completion in Christ; the natural man resists the grace of God. A tension between our freedom and our creatureliness results. The gift of faith is the κρίσις or resolution of the crux created by God's challenge to man in the love of Christ. πίστις, once given, results in ἐπίγνωσις and is not its consequence. The world by wisdom knew not God (I Cor. i, 21); but once personal faith in the living Christ is received, an illumination of the mind follows—ἐπίγνωσις The contact is spiritual, which means that the power of the life of Christ is felt by our life; the Holy Spirit is interfused with the human spirit in a "new birth", as our Lord described it. The "new man", in St. Paul's phrase, is born. A power is given to grow into Christ-likeness. He "shines in our hearts for the enlightenment of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (II Cor. iv, 6). But "we have this treasure in earthen vessels" (*ib.* 7). The potentiality and the δύναμις are with us, but the natural man resists and the spirit may be hampered by the "flesh". Yet the φωτισμός once given can shine ever more brightly, and lead us into all truth in things of the spiritual understanding. Now we know partially, from the human standpoint (ἐκ μέρους) but then our knowledge will be comparable with God's knowledge of us (I Cor. xiii, 12) and we shall know the love of Christ which passeth γνῶσις (Eph. iii, 19).

Knowing ἐκ μέρους is inevitable in our individual human state. Such γνῶσις has enriched us in every finite and separable field, particularly in our scientific knowledge. The fields can be immensely widened by human cooperation in which many who know in part combine their knowledge. Wide unifications of knowledge have been achieved through key concepts in science, but the necessary preliminary delimitations of scientific fields prevent the key-concepts from being universal. And Science is now questioning its various initial postulates and finding that they require to be justified philosophically. At the same time it is being recognized that observer and observed cannot be detached; that, at least, the physical situation of the observer affects the validity of the observation. Philosophers, too, have sought key-concepts, but in their case the aim has been at generality and totality. In the "classical" philosophies of the past man's effort has been to stand outside of his individuality by means of the universality of mind, and to see the whole impersonally and abstractly in such a system as will commend itself by its pure rationality to other rational minds. Despair of the possibility of this has seized upon our age; the history of philosophy shows the philosophers, however abstract and impartial they have tried to be, as conditioned not only by the thought-climate of their age, but also by their personalities, their environments, and even their desires. Thought cannot be detached from the personal thinker; even Aristotle, who saw this truth, proceeded to create a system based on the abstraction of a God who is thought thinking itself, and could only account for this universe by attributing potentiality to non-being and calling this primal matter. The heroic attempts of individuals to detach their intellects from their whole personalities and to think in complete abstraction, *ex specie aeternitatis,* and not ἐκ μέρους, have failed. The more successful the effort of abstraction the more jejune, formal, and void of content the systems have become Kant's categorical imperative is a case in point: so is "Human Knowledge" according to Russell. Once content is provided by the thinker it becomes biased by his individuality. A world of pure mathematics or logic is the only possible result of abstract thought—diagrams ! Pictures require the artist.

So in the late nineteenth century a reaction towards pictorial or descriptive philosophy set in. But it was a case of "*Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim*". The hope of universality of agreement vanished as soon as logical and traditional metaphysics was abandoned The philosophic artist, like Bergson, can only hope to convince those to whom his picture appeals. Human θεωρία failed to find its rationality completely expressed in the universe, though it found tantalizing indications that its efforts were not in vain; turning then to intuition based on contemplation it found equally tantalizing pictures which, somehow, never expressed the whole; recently, in despair of a universal view, it has begun to contemplate its own existential situation, and to draw such conclusions as it can from seeing itself. All paths seem to be leading somewhere without arriving, and human philosophizing oscillates between the arid abstractions of positivism, the descriptive pictures of science, and the introversion of existentialism.

The glory of St. Paul, as we might say, though he would say more truly the glory of the Holy Spirit who enlightened his mind, is to have seen that since thought and thinker are inseparable, thought can only have truth when it is the thought of a thinker who is free from our limitations of knowledge and of individuality, who is both personal and divine. If divine and living personality is the supreme reality (and philosophically this is a very tenable position), and if God is in special creative relationship to man, it would follow that human life is being drawn to completion in personal relationship with Him by the magnetism of the real. πίστις is the conscious realization and acceptance of this magnetic love which is to draw men to God. The truth of God in Man, Christ, and of Christ in men by the Holy Spirit revitalizes humanity when accepted by the leap to magnetic contact. The magnetic pull is the gift of God. The conscious experience of it and the consequent self-abandonment is faith. But the very self-giving of faith results in living contact with the source of all the riches of personal quality, and the new man is born, united, though not at once, in wholeness and holiness with the essential and authentic Life. The illumination of the whole human person by the new spiritual contact affects all our powers. Our mental powers in particular are enriched by a new discernment of reality and truth, ἐπίγνωσις, which gives, not a body of " revealed truths ", not a power of knowing to supersede our natural powers of intellect, but an orientation of all our thinking towards a central truth by which we are beaconed, and an illumination of all our thinking by a central light by which we have power to see. The result is, as St. Paul rightly saw, an ἀνακεφαλαίωσις of all things in Christ; not an absorption or merging of all things in God; the variety and distinctions of things and people remain, but they are vivified for the mind, illuminated, and intensified in quality by the realization of God's purpose for man's regeneration and his living power sustaining his creation.

Human thought, by this intuitive recognition of, or sensitivity towards truth, divinely given, is anchored to reality. The field of the illumination is the knowledge-field of each person, and not universal. When St. Paul says we have the mind of Christ (I Cor. ii, 16) he does not mean universal knowledge: he means that we have the mind of Christ as it was in the *Kenosis* of his incarnation, limited in knowledge and experience to the field of his human situation but divine in its grasp, penetration and spiritual insight into its whole area, seeing it as the Father sees the whole. Wherever the single-minded attention of the believer is directed, the central and living truth of the Lordship of Christ and the sincerity of the Holy Spirit illuminate insight and validate recognition. It is more closely akin to prophetic insight than to mystical illumination. St. Paul's ἐπίγνωσις was not the mystic's experience of union with the essential Godhead, though he tells us that this also was given him (II Cor. xii, 2 ff.), possibly on several occasions. He describes it as an ἀποκάλυψις of a μυστήριον (Eph. ii, 2). His vision of Jesus Christ on the Damascus road gave him the Faith and the central truth which tore the veil from his eyes. This experience was not the result of mystical askesis, nor of philosophical θεωρία. It was a spiritual experience which, when it was received, " made everything clear to his mind " as we say. A similar sense of clarification, though to a lesser degree, is felt in the experience of conversion.

St. Paul describes his φωτισμός, as indeed that of all true Christians (II Cor. iii, 18), as the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ (II Cor. iv, 6). The veil is lifted, and we behold the glory of the Lord " as in a mirror ". The faith-giving is the act of God in grace, the illumination is the work of the Holy Spirit. Christ is the εἴκων in whom the image of the glory of God is seen (*ib.* 4), He is the image of the invisible God (Col. i, 15). The author of Hebrews even more explicitly calls Him the ἀπαύγασμα of God's glory, and the stamped image of his ὑπόστασις. Upon this knowledge follows all ἐπίγνωσις (here " after-knowledge ") consequentially, for St. Paul the sequel was the whole consistent pattern of doctrine which we know as his theology. It becomes thenceforth his duty to enlighten all men as to the dispensation (οἰκονομία) of the mystery which from all time had been hidden in God (Eph. i, 9). Instructed Christians, too, are to be οἰκὸνομοι of the mysteries of God. The system of the divine economy has to be explained. St. Paul is a debtor to Greeks and barbarians, to wise and simple, until he explains it (Rom. i, 14), He feels the urgency of the task ἀνάγκη μοι ἐπὶκειται . οὐαὶ γάρ μοι ἐστὶν ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίζωμαι (I Cor. ix, 16).

For him the urgency is the need of mankind. His gospel is the power of God unto salvation for all who believe (Rom. i, 16). The secret is δικαιυσύνη θεοῦ —not, of course, the righteousness of God. a secret revealed long ago—but a state of justification bestowed by God on all who believe. God's will was that all things should be summed up, and all men brought into one state of fellowship in Christ (Eph. i, 9, 10). Christ is to be all and in all (Col. iii, 11).

To detail further the insights given by ἐπίγνωσις to St. Paul would be otiose, for they comprise his doctrine which so consistently and completely centres on the divine Christ. Similar insights have built up the Creeds, and the general structure of Christian Theology. This is not to say that errors have not occurred, from St. Paul himself onwards. ἐπίγνωσις is not a miraculous gift of inerrancy. On its human side it is involved with and dependent on human reason and human knowledge. But the central illumination of the life in contact with God by the Holy Spirit ensures the dominance of a magnetic attraction to truth and reality, though the insights may be conditioned by human knowledge or by the circumstances of the age in which they are given. There is always the fear that human minds may be seduced away from the simplicity and holiness which come from being Christ-centred (II Cor. xi, 3). None the less, the new birth of Faith brings with it a new will φρόνημα (Rom. viii, 5) a new mind (Rom. xii, 2); it enriches in all reason and all knowledge (I Cor. i, 5) endows with new power (I Cor. ii, 4) (Col. i, 29) and ensures that the λόγος Θεοῦ shall work in us (I Thess. ii, 13). Man's wholeness, spirit, mind, and body, is as it were adopted for salvation (I Thess. v, 23).

But, as St. Paul says in a wonderful metaphor, we hold this treasure in earthen vessels. The new man is growing in the old man to the measure of the πλήρωμα of Christ, but the completion of the process is not yet. And so the ἐπίγνωσις is not perfect; insights do not always come, or when they do are partial, or confused by errors of natural intellection. But the essentials are safeguarded and continually revived in different emphases by the gift of the Spirit working in the minds of believers individually and in their consensus. Such a fundamental harmony is most evident beneath the diverse expositions of St. Paul, St. John, and the author of Hebrews; but it is apparent throughout the history of Christian thought. There is in ἐπίγνωσις no discontinuity with γνῶσις and with human intellection generally. The insights depend on wide and accurate knowledge and faithful reasoning, in most cases, as they normally do; sometimes they may come from exceptional holiness of life. But they are attracted and evoked insights; they are dominating insights; they are moral and spiritual as well as intellectual insights. And they differ from the synthetic intuitions or " inspired guesses " of the scientist and scholar; these have no weight till they are intellectually verified; but the insights of ἐπίγνωσις though they require to be justified as consistent intellectually, and to be explained rationally, have in them a compulsive quality to those who share in the unity of the Holy Spirit, and seem, if they are authentic, to verify themselves in quality of living as the activity of the Λόγος Θεοῦ.

The intellectual aspect of explanation and justification of the insights of ἐπίγνωσις is for theology and apologetics; St. Paul's urge was to spread his κήρυγυα, " his " gospel as he called it. The κήρμγμα of the apostolic ministry was basically factual; but the facts received meaning for everyman by the interpretations of ἐπίγνωσις. Yet a mere communication of the facts and of their interpretation would not evoke faith, as many apologists have found. So St. Paul tells us that his λόγος and κήρυγμα were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstrations of the Spirit and of power (I Cor. ii, 14). He must convince the whole man, not the mind only. It is the " eyes of the heart " that must first be flooded with light (Eph. i, 18). πίστις must come from the heart (Rom. x, 9, 10). The appeal of God is made through the love of Christ. Man to whom the appeal is made is free; assent to the appeal, as the Stoics said, is in his power. The assent is eagerly sought by the missioner; it is prepared for by prevenient grace, exercised perhaps through all good influences, through knowledge of the facts as taught by believers, through the *ad hominem* argument of Christian lives, through inner experience of tension and conviction of sin. A condition is reached in which the gift of πίστις can be given: when it comes to the whole man, ἐπίγνωσις is the mental sequel, through the influence of the Holy Spirit. Before the coming of πίστις, ἐπίγνωσις is only in its rudimentary and negative stage, ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας, a sense or recognition of having gone wrong. But the fact of its being, though only in this bare form, present in the natural man (*cf.* Romans i, 32) proves that it is no magical infusion of a new mental faculty, but the development and illumination of a faculty already existing in embryo. This faculty conveys no positive knowledge before the illumination of faith and the accession of the Holy Spirit to the human soul: with faith new positive knowledge of God and his will and his ways becomes possible. " The natural man receives not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him, and he cannot know them. But the spiritual man (the man in whom the Holy Spirit lives through Faith) examines (investigates, scrutinizes) all things, but is inscrutable to the others (I Cor. ii, 14, 15). For, as St. Paul explains, the mind of Christ, in which we share through the Holy Spirit, is inscrutable but itself searcheth all things, even the depths of God (*ib.* 10). It is the

Spirit proceeding from God who enables us to know all that God has done for us (*ib.* 12) and we proclaim it not in the educated speech of human wisdom but in words which the Spirit teacheth, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες, which seems to mean " interpreting the spiritual insights in words which the Spirit also helps us to find."

There is a double reason for this. In the first place St. Paul finds even the rich and flexible language, which was at his disposal, inadequate for conveying " the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God " by which he is transported with delight (Rom. xi, 33); thoughts are continually struggling for expression in his writings through inadequate words, adopted words, coined words, broken phrases—almost at times incoherently. The message is too great and the urgency too tense for meditated phrase and ordered exposition. The marvel of the inner consistency of doctrine in writings so tied to needs and occasions is another proof of their " spiritual " quality. In the second place, the aim is mainly evangelization, not exposition; and for this the ardent words of spiritual power are far more effective than reasoned argument. St. Paul is ready to " speak wisdom among them that are τέλειοι " (I Cor. ii, 6) but the unveiling of hearts is achieved by prophetic utterances inspired by the " quickening spirit ". It is the Λόγος Θεοῦ that people need, not the λόγος ἀνθρώπων. Through such Spirit-guided evangelization the hearers can be brought to a tension of which the κρίσις, , or solution, can be the gift of Faith. What happened to St. Paul can happen to them, though in their case the direct vision of the Christ is replaced by his presentation of Christ, achieved by the aid of the Holy Spirit. The effects of the gift of faith will follow for them as for him— δικαίωσις, justification, and ἐπίγνωσις, spiritual discernment of truth.

If the contention of this article be true, the theological consequences are considerable. For it means the fulfilment in Christ of man's agelong intellectual pilgrimage and the consecration of human wisdom rather than the rejection of that pilgrimage as futile and that wisdom as folly. Thinkers of the Barthian school have been misled by literalism. The wisdom of this world is indeed foolishness by comparison with the infinite wisdom of God; but not foolishness absolutely. St. Paul is speaking in this verse (I Cor. iii, 18) just as he speaks (I Cor. i, 25) of the foolishness of God as wiser than men. The μωρία of God is the condescension of his wisdom in speaking to man in terms which man can understand—e.g., in the μωρία of preaching. The μωρία of man is his failure in spiritual discernment in spite of all his reasoning. Surely he must see that everything points to the truth of God in Christ, reconciling the world to himself! But no: the veil is upon his heart. And it can be lifted only by the gift of faith to the whole man. Intellectual understanding is good, but not enough. It is adequate for its various purposes, but cannot achieve the fundamental insights until it has been illuminated by faith and magnetized towards the true pole. When πίστις has come the intellect continues its normal functioning, nor does it spurn its previous labours and achievements. But it now proves and tests them in the light of a central truth. The δοκιμασία is conducted by ἐπίγνωσις in the light of the central πίστις.

Secondly, this view of ἐπίγνωσις bears strongly against the Thomist division of truth into truths discoverable by the human reason and truths revealed to faith. If it be correct, there is neither a " corpus " of " revealed truths " set out in the Bible, nor a corpus of doctrines revealed explicitly and miraculously by the Holy Spirit to the Church. What we have in the Bible is a crescendo of insights into the truth about God, attained by holy men through the illumination caused by their faith, and culminating in the supreme insight of faith —God in Christ—and a consequently intensified ἐπίγνωσις. We have also in the Bible, of course, a record of facts, words, and deeds of which ἐπίγνωσις gives the only convincing interpretations, a record which becomes priceless because of what it preserves. For example, the early chapters of Genesis are to us invaluable because of their insights into the creative activity of the one, true God, and it was only possible for them to be written after faith in Him had led to the true insights; the prophetic messages are insights into divine truth about the ways of God and his counsels which were only possible for dedicated men in contact with the living God through faith. Above all, the incarnation gave the supreme truth; when it was understood all other truths about God's ways with man group themselves around it; and by faith in Christ the consequent insights increase and multiply amongst believers.

They spread beyond the Apostolic age, and, anchored always to the facts of the *traditio* (παραθήκη or παράδοσις), which was soon recorded in writing, they were crystallized into the creeds. This was not done without much intellectual labour and controversy of the normal kind, but subordinated always to the central illumination of faith, and to its bearing, by ἐπίγνωσις, on what must be the truth. The spiritual insight varied in quality in different theologians because some held the central faith more strongly and were better equipped to understand its consequences. St. Athanasius is a case in point. The agreed formulae which were ultimately reached are not sacrosanct as formulae if ἐπίγνωσις coupled with increased knowledge should lead to a truer expression. The intellectual insight given by the power of the Holy Spirit did not cease at Nicaea, and is not confined to fourth-century semantics and thought-forms. Revelation is not the supplying by God of a corpus of " truths of revelation " but the unveiling of the mystery of God in Christ. In Him are hidden all the treasures of σοφία and γνῶσις; the supply is infinite, and the progressive understanding of them is the labour and delight of human minds under the guidance of ἐπίγνωσις jointly and severally: by it we examine and re-examine the recorded facts, we interpret and re-interpret them under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; the central ἀποκάλυψις is our pole-star, and the recorded facts our observation points.

We turn away, then, from the dichotomy of truth into truths of reason and truths of faith. All truth is one, but the discernment of spiritual truth, or truths about spiritual realities, is only possible for " spiritual men " by the ἐπίγνωσις consequent upon faith. Shall we then revert to the Augustinian position—*nisi credideritis non intellegetis*? In a sense we shall, but only in a sense. For St. Augustine's view is that God has made us rational; i.e., beings who are capable of using reason correctly. But that the fall of man has corrupted our minds by giving us an inclination to error so strong that we cannot reason rightly without the gift of faith, by divine grace. Modern theologians who incline to this view (e.g., Canon Alan Richardson in *Christian Apologetics*) would put it rather differently. The Christian faith, they say, gives our reason the only right clues, or categories of interpretation; reason becomes fruitful by the insights of faith. Faith alone enables man to be truly rational. " St. Augustine knows that, apart from the grace of saving faith, the intellect is a slave of sin, self-interest, and pride—and therefore the begetter of false theories rationalizations and all forms of error " (*Christian Apologetics*, p. 247). " Special revelation lights up the meaning of all general revelation, and enables the Christian philosopher to discern, at least in outline or by analogy, the meaning of the whole " (*ib.* p. 249). The crucial difference between Thomists and Augustinians lies in the fact that for the former there is a sphere of knowledge in which human reason is adequate, though this sphere is limited; while for the latter all reason has been corrupted by the Fall, if not in its processes, at any rate in its results, by its enslavement to selfishness and sin. " If anything has been well-thought by non-Christians, this has been achieved by the grace of God: but only believers, because of their special revelation, can knew that it has been well-thought " (*ib.* p. 249). Or to put it more explicitly, all human intellection has been corrupted by the Fall. If it has arrived at true insights, this is by the grace of God in general revelation. But without the grace of God in special revelation they cannot be recognized as true. The arrogance and absurdity of such a claim by Christian thinkers might well cause philosophers to despair of them. As applied to scientific, historical, and rational knowledge generally it refutes itself. Einstein by the grace of God, in spite of his corrupted reasoning, arrives at a satisfactory explanation of the structure of the physical universe; but only a Christian can assure him that it is true! Plato discerns that there are eternal verities behind the flux of the changing world; but only a Christian can be sure that he was right! And neither Einstein nor Plato could have reached the truth by their corrupted reason but for the general grace of God, who however denied them the satisfaction of knowing that it was the truth! St. Augustine needs to be saved from his friends. His position was that human *reasoning* has been vitiated by the Fall, and it is at first sight plausible. If we think of the mind as bound up with the whole personality, corruption of the person by sin would in many cases both affect the powers of reasoning, and give a bias towards false conclusions. But this is only in individual cases of actual sinfulness. St. Augustine claims a general corruption by which the human mind, though it *can* reason correctly, does not in fact arrive at right conclusions till faith is given. Now faith to St. Augustine is full personal trust in God, based on recognition of what He has done for us. The effect of this personal faith is a " reconditioning " of the whole man; and this " justification " includes a restoration of the mind from its fallen condition so that it can and does comprehend truth. The aberrations of many Christians since his day, whose faith was unquestionable, is a sad commentary on his doctrine, and has perhaps led to its modification by the view that faith gives the " key-categories " by which right interpretation is possible.

St. Augustine's mistake was not made by St. Paul. Where St. Augustine went wrong was firstly in basing faith on ἐπίγνωσις, recognition of what God has done for us, instead of realizing that ἐπίγνωσις is the intellectual result of faith; and secondly in assuming that personal conversion with consequent acceptance of " revealed truth " would reverse the supposed effect of the Fall on the human intellect. He has assumed that personal knowledge can transform knowledge of quite a different type, intellectual knowledge. He omitted the transforming agent which St. Paul realized, ἐπίγνωσις. The coming of personal faith gives only one result—personal and complete trust in our Lord, and recognition of Him as divine. This illumination gives to the mind at the same instant one central intellectual truth, that of his divinity. The possession of this, the central truth, the illumination of ἐπίγνωσις enables the mind in all its rational processes to be rightly orientated as well as sensitive for the recognition of spiritual truth. Human mentality works as before, makes mistakes, and achieves results in spheres which it delimits. In seeking to pass beyond towards the totality of things, and in seeking to understand ultimate truths, which are spiritual, the mind is magnetized by its key insight into the nature of God, and inspired by the Holy Spirit with whom the soul is now united, who leads us into all truth, but does not dictate it to us. Questing θεωρία is aided by a power of intellectual recognition of what is true. Truth, as it were, comes alive to us in Him who is the truth. And, at the same time, the aberrations of reasoning and conclusions caused by the actual pride, selfishness, and other sins of individuals are also mitigated or removed in proportion as the self-giving of faith is intensified, and the " new man " grows in the old. Nothing in the process is magical, but all is super-natural.

Finally the relationship between faith and reason, between theology and philosophy, that perennial question, may perhaps be clarified, and a *modus communiter vivendi* be established between theologians and philosophers. For it may be observed from a study of the great philosophers that all the truly organic systems are governed each by its key-insight which imparts a character, colour, and unity to the whole.

These insights are not achieved by logical reasoning, though they are worked out by it into a coherent system; deep reflection and consideration of wide areas of thought, including the knowledge of the day, the philosopher's own experience, and the systems of his predecessors, come to maturity and give birth to something be it picture, concept, idea, or outlook in the light of which a fresh aspect of reality takes form. These intuitions spring from the whole man, or, it might be better to say, come to the whole man in virtue of what he is. Now if—and philosophers except logical or scientific positivists, would admit that the hypothesis is tenable—spiritual values are the culminating reality, and are only knowable to man as mediated through living personality, if, that is, divine personality, or personal divinity is for man the real, an insight into this truth would be an attracted insight, and not a mere result of sub-conscious ratiocination, as an insight in a limited field may well be. The admission of this is all that is required to bring theology intellectually into line with philosophy. Faith in the God-man, the living Lord incarnate, would bring the attracted insight, and ἐπίγνωσις of the μυστήριον Θεοῦ would enlighten the whole survey of the Christian philosopher, empowered and inspired for his task by the dynamic of the Holy Spirit. He is the eternal source of power and light for all human personality, and ἐπίγνωσις is his work in its intellectual aspect.

CORRESPONDENCE

VAUGHAN AS A TRAINER OF ORDINANDS

SIR,—The Principal of St. John's College, Durham, referred recently to Dean Vaughan as a neglected Victorian Divine [1]. In the course of his survey he refers briefly to Vaughan as a trainer of ordinands.

Through the kindness of one of the last surviving " Doves ", the kindness of the son of another, and from an article in the *Sarum Record* for June, 1928, written by yet another, it is possible to amplify a little the picture that we have of Vaughan in his relation to those whom he prepared for Holy Orders.

This work began in 1861 while he was Vicar of Doncaster and continued until he died in 1897. Mr. Lang has kindly supplied me with excerpts from his father's Journal which give intimate glimpses of the life of a " Dove ":

SUNDAY, AUGUST 31 (1862)—

. . . . Church. Dr. Vaughan preached on " God be merciful to me a siinner." Dinner; a long talk between Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Rendall (Housemaster at Harrow) on eternal, everlasting, and eternity of punishment, to which I listened. A walk up to the race-course with Mr. and Mrs. Rendall. A cup of tea. Church at 6.30 p.m. Dr. Vaughan again on Peter and John in the Temple curing the impotent man. Tea and talking till bed time.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1—

. . . . every place we found in confusion, preparing for the race.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4—

Prayers. Breakfast. Read till lunch. In study with Dr. Vaughan, talking and writing with interruptions till 6.40. Dressed for dinner at 7 p.m., and a quiet evening reading.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6—

Prayers. Breakfast. In study from 11.15 till 1 p.m. . . . . Hebrew lesson . . . .

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14—

Breakfast at 9 a.m. Schools 9.30 a.m. Church 11 a.m. Dinner. To my rooms. Read Greek Testament . . . .

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21—

. . . . tea at the Vicarage and a talk about the management of children in Sunday school and choristers.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4—

. . . . read Dr. Vaughan's Cambridge Sermon on " Vail before the mind in reading the Scriptures."

(Lang travelled to Cambridge to hear Vaughan preach this sermon on Sunday, November 9.)

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[1] C.Q.R. No. 310, pp. 72*ff*.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9—
. . . . University Church to hear Dr. Vaughan; very crowded; seats in the gallery . . . .

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16—
Church 3.30 p.m. Stayed to Communion.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18—
. . . My boys (i.e., Sunday school class) to tea . . . After tea Morton read *Ingoldsby Legends* to them. Singing, etc.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15 (1863)—
Read Hooker, Book 1, from 9—9.55.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 24—
The curacy has been settled.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28—
. . . . read Butler 12.20 to 1 p.m. Lunch. Confirmation lecture 3—4. . . . Dinner 6, and read St. Matthew till 9.30 . . . .

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10—
Visited 2.30 to 3.50. Mr. Wilton's lecture on zoological illustrations from the Bible; on ravens and locusts.

This Journal is supplemented by the recollections of other " Doves ". The Rev. E. J. Bodington tells of Vaughan's great stress on the Greek Testament. It served, as he believed, " as a corrective to sentimentality or over-emotionalism in religion ". It was always Vaughan's custom to treat men as " great scholars ". We may note in his *Advent Record* of 1891 that the first 300 candidates who studied under him were all graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. He never took non-graduates, and it was not until 1891 that he took a graduate of any university other than Oxford or Cambridge.

Throughout his life he took about ten men each year, all of them quite free, and kept them about nine months. Their name, " Dove ", was not applied by Vaughan himself but was given by others. Among them we may note Randall Davidson as the most celebrated. He was with Vaughan in 1872 (see *Randall Davidson,* by G. K. A. Bell, Vol. i. pp. 27.ff.). Another well-known " Dove " was G. C. Coulton who devoted part of a chapter in his Autobiography, *Four Score Years* to his time with Vaughan at Llandaff in 1883. He, too, stresses Vaughan's insistence on the Greek Testament. Another " Dove " was Bishop Montgomery, father of the present Field-Marshal.

But Vaughan's training was not all academic. He gave opportunity for pastoral experience, as Lang's Journal shows. If Lang had his district to visit in Doncaster, Randall Davidson had his in " a poor and squalid neighbourhood, north of the Strand ", and Coulton his share of the slums of Cardiff. In one of his letters (October 28, 1863) Vaughan says: " I now go round with each newcomer, house by house through his appointed district. I found it was an excellent plan, and it has already taken me through a large part of the poorer portion of the parish ".

And finally there was what another "Dove" describes as his "after care". He kept in touch personally and by correspondence with his men all through his life. A letter given me by the Rev. Hubert Arkwright, written by Vaughan in 1895, is full of the most deep sympathy for Mr. Arkwright and his brother Richard. Although now an old man, Vaughan could find the time and energy to write four pages, in his own hand, in which his evident suffering with his old student is made perfectly clear. Letters from the Dean when at the Temple to Lang show precisely the same gift. The men clearly felt that they had in him one to whom they could confide their sorrows and with whom they could share their joys. He consents to become godfather to the son of one of his old students, and "to love him for his father's sake till I can do so for his own". Ten years later he could write to the same person and say, "There are ties which *nothing* can break, and this is one of them".

It is very much hoped that these glimpses may bring forth others and enable us to see more of the man as well as the divine, who so deeply affected so many of the clergy of an earlier generation.

Faithfully yours,

FREDERICK BUSSBY.

N.T. QUESTIONS

SIR—I should like to put forward what I believe to be new suggestions on two points in the Gospels.

The Story of the Magi.

Everyone has an affection for the story of the Three Wise Men, but most critics, I suppose, think of it as legend rather than history. Although there can be no proof that the story is true, the silence of Luke should not be used as an argument against it. Even if Luke knew about these Magi, he had his own reasons for refusing hem a place of honour in his picture of the Birth of Christ. In the Acts the class of Magi appears in a very unfavourable light. Everywhere they are mischievous rivals of St. Paul. Besides (as someone once pointed out to me) Luke the physician would feel for them a man of science's natural dislike of charlatans. We know, from his handling of Mark, how fastidious he was, and how careful to omit anything that might be misunderstood. He certainly would not go out of his way to idealize men whose profession he abhorred.

The Cleansing of the Temple.

The story of the Cleansing of the Temple is a favourite with ersons of a stern temperament, and I have even seen it dragged nto the controversy about flogging. I think we should consider whether the facts may not have been misunderstood from the earliest times—especially since this is the only instance in which Christ is said to have used physical force, and since force hardly seems in accord with his usual methods.

I suggest that Christ did not make a deliberate assault on the Temple tradesmen, but that he was called on to mediate in a dispute which had arisen between them and the people. He restored peace by inducing the tradesmen to withdraw, and no doubt helped in the removal of their possessions. It was natural that a heightened account of the incident should soon get about. Mark (who is here copied by Luke and Matthew) is not a first-hand authority, and though I believe that the Fourth Gospel was written by the "Beloved Disciple", we need not suppose that he was a persona witness of every event which he records.

All this is, of course, guesswork, but I hope I may have thrown doubt on the usual interpretation, which I find painful.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

G. M. Lee.

REVIEWS

THE GREAT LORD SALISBURY

THE third Marquess of Salisbury—thrice Prime Minister and four times Foreign Secretary—died in August 1903, an eventful fifty years ago. His biography has hitherto been curiously neglected—partly, no doubt, because of the success of the official "Life" written by his daughter, Lady Gwendolen Cecil. But that admirable work only goes down to 1892, thus missing the last ten years of his political career; and even for the years that it treats it is not equally satisfying on all sides.

Captain A. L. Kennedy's new full-length study* is therefore calculated to meet a real need. He has been working on it and collecting material for it over many years. His array of sources is very impressive, including in not a few instances the personal recollections of men who were concerned with Lord Salisbury in this or that episode. Here, it might have been hoped, is the final account—final, at least, for our generation.

But that, to be frank, Captain Kennedy has not achieved. His book has some serious defects. He does not command a style always equal to his subject. And however long its incubation, its execution shows many marks of slovenly haste. Two illustrations may suffice. On page 30 two paragraphs begin each with the same line. If this be excused as a printer's error, the case of pp. 48 and 163 cannot be. On p. 48 Captain Kennedy gives in his text a five-line quotation from Bismarck. On p. 163 it is again given at length. Obviously the right course on p. 163 was not to re-quote but to refer to the previous quotation. Errors like that are more than formal; they imply a failure on the author's part to master his material.

But there is a worse defect. Lady Gwendolen Cecil's book (usually, it would seem, from motives of filial piety laudable in a daughter) was silent on certain episodes which need further elucidation. On these it was Captain Kennedy's business to break the silences, collect the scattered but important lights already thrown elsewhere, and add any new lights that he could. He has done too little of that.

A striking instance is the story of the Conservative approaches to Parnell and his party in 1885 — approaches which caused the defeat of the Gladstone Government on 8th June and Parnell's fateful manifesto of 21st November ordering the Irish electors in Great Britain to vote Conservative. Of the first of these occasions Captain Kennedy's account is almost ludicrous. "A vote on the

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* *Salisbury*, 1830-1903. By A. L. Kennedy. John Murray. 25s.

Budget", he writes, "gave the Conservatives and some Liberal Home Rulers a majority". What happened was that the Conservatives obtained a majority because the Parnellites sided with them, and they did so because the Conservatives had bought their support by a promise to end Coercion. It is true also that 76 Liberals abstained on the division; but that is a different story, and they were not part of the majority.

When in consequence Lord Salisbury formed his first Government, he honoured the pact and ended Coercion; and it was this astonishing reversal of Lord Spencer's policy which eventually convinced Gladstone of the inevitability of Home Rule, since it proved that no British statesman could reckon on Ireland's being treated consistently at Westminster. There followed Lord Caernarvon's Viceroyalty and his secret negotiation with Parnell authorised by Lord Salisbury and reported to him. During the months before the General Election the subject of most speculation was, not whether the Liberals would propose Home Rule, but whether the Conservatives would; Gladstone and Parnell were each looking to Salisbury to give the lead. Why, having gone so far as he had, did he go no further? The late Mr. G. W. E. Russell's selection from the papers of Malcolm MacColl seems to give the answer; he feared to incur the fate of Peel and go down to history as the man who broke his party. In the end he manoeuvred the party into a strong position which gave it office for most of the next twenty years; but he did so, it may be thought, at the cost of irreparable mischief to Anglo-Irish relations, the results of which are written large in the Ireland of to-day.

All this is very cursorily handled by Captain Kennedy; yet whether for history or for biography it is obviously an episode of primary significance. The trait of character which it illustrates is perhaps a certain unscrupulousness. Lord Salisbury began his political life with a rather sensitive conscience, which, as 1867 showed, could be troublesome, and which caused Bismarck once to characterise him as a "clergyman". But at the same time one of his leading traits, as Captain Kennedy very well shows, was realism. He came to judge policies and courses of conduct by their consequences rather than by any question of principle involved, a tendency which can hardly have failed to be strengthened by his long immersion in diplomacy, where the pliant kind of strength counts for so much. A good example is his entirely untruthful denial of the Cyprus Convention as disclosed by the clerk Marvin—a piece of shameless inveracity, which it is nevertheless hard to blame having regard to the immense issues involved.

Captain Kennedy is strongest on the side of foreign policy, a subject in which his own competence is high. And the same is true of Lord Salisbury himself, whom it is hardly possible not to regard as a much greater Foreign Minister than Prime Minister. At the beginning, indeed, he made no secret of his preference for the

Foreign Office; and perhaps the chief attraction of the Premiership to him was that it enabled him to run foreign affairs without having somebody else over him, as he had Beaconsfield in 1878. Even those who think best of his record in home affairs must admit that it was largely negative. The point may be curiously illustrated by looking at shelves containing the *Annual Statutes*. The volumes of the statutes for Lord Salisbury's years are strikingly thin compared to those which follow.

Of course there are some who deny him greatness even as a Foreign Minister, and to them Captain Kennedy's book may be commended as a statement of the case in his favour, particularly valuable for those last ten years which Lady Gwendolen did not cover. Few probably would gainsay Salisbury's immense technical competence in the diplomatic sphere; the excellence of his despatches (was anything ever better done in its way than the Salisbury Circular of 1 April 1878?); his skill in getting on the right side of foreign diplomatists. More questionable perhaps in this sphere is his excess of secretiveness, which led him even in dealing with our ambassadors to put anything really important in a private letter rather than in a despatch which might some day be dragged into the light.

But a great Foreign Minister must be more than a technician. He must achieve results—visible, if not at the time, yet surely now fifty years after his death. What did Salisbury achieve? Three things might more especially be claimed on his behalf: first the major credit for the " peace with honour " of 1878; secondly, the peaceful solution of the problems raised by European colonial rivalries in the 'eighties and early 'nineties; third, the maintenance during the 'nineties of the Concert of Europe. The first two claims may be regarded as standing; the third can perhaps only be allowed with serious qualifications.

With what then can he be reproached? Chiefly with not taking any action to meet the coming world-peril of German aggression. Not that he was wholly blind to it. His long-distance forecasts on this as on other subjects were sometimes uncannily wise. But they were little reflected in his policy. In practical affairs it was normal for him, like Queen Victoria, to regard France as the potential enemy and Germany as the potential ally. Yet he clung to liberty of choice between them — " splendid isolation " — and his last famous document—the memorandum against any alliance—shows him still thinking in terms of an epoch which was passing away without his realising its passage.

We have left to the end a side of his life and character with which Captain Kennedy deals very well—the religious side. He was a sincere and convinced rather than a profound Christian. Like Gladstone he leaned to the High Church side of Anglicanism (as things then were), and the centre of his worshihp was the early-morning Holy Communion. It was his mainstay through life, his feeling about it being fully shared by the admirable Lady Salisbury. But his appetite for theology was limited, and in general he distrusted all the imaginative side of life. His mentor was Bishop Butler—" things are what they are "—to whom Gladstone also was devoted, though from a somewhat different angle.

His recreations were scientific—from boyhood botany and in later life chemistry and physics. He had a laboratory for his playroom. He made no great discoveries there, but followed eagerly the discoveries of others. Hatfield is said to have been the first private house in the country to be equipped with electric light, and one of the first to be equipped with telephones. But fundamentally what he enjoyed in natural science were not its conveniences but its rigid adherence to the actual and factual. That was the spirit which he wished to see dominate politics also.

R. C. K. ENSOR.

AN EPOCHAL FRIENDSHIP

WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE 1795-1834. By H. M. MARGOLIOUTH. O.U.P. 1953. 6s.

IN producing this small volume Mr. Margoliouth has done a very good job. In the last thirty years a great deal has been made public about Wordsworth and a good deal about Coleridge, and a summary of what can be known of their relations with one another is just what most of us are now in search of. Here we have it, brief, informative, judicious, and pointed with some notably penetrating remarks. A portrait of Coleridge, for example, is said to be " more looked at than looking ". " The gleam on gloom " is the description of one of Wordsworth's poetical moods; and what an eye-opener is this reflection on Bridges' *Testament of Beauty*: " as a poem, how forgettable it is ".

But the strength of Mr. Margoliouth's book is in the way it handles the theme. It tells us all the time just how the two great men were (or were not) getting on with one another, and we seem to join their circle of friends and relations, and share their interest, their irritation, and their dismay at Coleridge's fecklessness and Wordsworth's awkwardness. The minor characters and the undercurrents find their place and keep their place delightfully.

Yet we must ask ourselves sooner or later Why all this pother about these two? We have their poetry, and is not that enough? No good regretting that Coleridge wrote so little or that Wordsworth wrote so much. We can trace their contacts (Margoliouth has done it), but the influence of the one mind on the other is not so easily traced, and their recollection of each other's verse is rarely significant. Shelley in *Alastor* quoted word for word from Wordsworth several times. There then an influence might be studied, but what Wordsworth and Coleridge said to one another in the great year July 1797-July 1798, fruitful as it was, is mostly only to be recovered by conjecture.

All the same the lives of the poets are fascinating, and speculation upon these particular poets is irresistible. Wordsworth was clearly a very tiresome person, and Coleridge must have been a charmer, for in spite of his obvious failings he was always falling into good company. Their close contact and intimacy may have been mainly intellectual, as seems to be commonly supposed, but perhaps the main reaction was between Wordsworth's gravity so often transfigured by exaltation and Coleridge's ebullience always paid for by depression. Whatever the stimulus, the question is whether it was decisive for Wordsworth, and whether the removal of it accounts for his decline.

But this begs another question? Is there not too much talk about Wordsworth's decline? He wrote a vast amount of most majestic poetry between the ages of twenty-eight and forty, and why should you ask more of a poet than that? He might have done some good to his reputation if, in fact, he had ceased to write altogether after 1810. That he continued to write was the inevitable sequel of the first forty years, and he often wrote well in the later period. It is not easy to see how he could have been better occupied. It is true that he became quite interested in politics, and might have enjoyed being a member of Parliament. But of course he would never have been elected in those days, or for the matter of that in our own.

If we are going to concern ourselves with his " decline ", the real question is not what caused this marvellous inspiration to die away, but what had ever produced it? No one of the name of Wordsworth appears in the Dictionary of National Biography before him. But he has a younger brother, three nephews, and a great nephew there, none of them poets, but all five of them scholars and divines pretty well in the front rank. The strange thing is not that he became a churchman, but that he had ever been a poet. But a poet he was, and with some claim to be thought of as our second greatest, and among the poets as our greatest teacher, though this latter claim can be made good on one condition only, namely that he is read as a poet and not as a teacher. Coleridge on the other hand is not a didactic poet in spite of his philosophic turn of mind. He is eminently a sensuous poet of the best kind. He taught quite directly by lecturing and writing, and has had a great influence ever since, largely because he was the purveyor to the English of German philosophy in its best period. Wordsworth can hardly have influenced him here, and on the other hand without Coleridge Wordsworth would still have been a poet. His youthful sensibility and early cult of solitude saw to that.

Perhaps indeed the real decline observable in Wordsworth was the decline of solitude. The increasing interest in society can be seen already in *The Prelude,* and then we trace its several stages, the disturbance of a growing family, the business of distributing stamps, the elegant but restless society of Sir George Beaumont. Mr. Margoliouth brings out the point that Wordsworth had no sinecure as Distributor of Stamps for the County of Westmorland. He also remarks that the question whether Beaumont's patronage was good for Wordsworth is worth considering. He does not consider it however, and I wish he had. In fact I wish he would write a life of Beaumont. He would be just the man to do it, and it would be illuminating. *Discrimination: or the Life and Opinions of Sir George Beaumont Bt.* After all Sir George was the patron in the best sense of Wordsworth and Constable and a great many others of lesser eminence, and one of the Founders of the National Gallery, a grandee, a man of note.

Meanwhile we contemplate Wordsworth's growing love of society, and observe rather ruefully that, whereas his reactions to Nature were powerful and most unusual, his reactions to society and social questions were rather ordinary. Coleridge had perhaps very little to do with all this. But that two such extraordinary men should have met at all, still more that they should have talked so much and collaborated to such great effect, is most arresting in itself. *Wordsworth and Coleridge 1795-1834* is a commentary on this event. It adds to its interest and in many ways satisfies the curiosity it arouses.

ADAM FOX.

PAUL TILLICH

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. VOLUME I. By PAUL TILLICH. Nisbet. 25s.

THIS is an outstanding book, comprehensive, balanced, rooted in a sound knowledge of philosophy and theology, protestant (in the best sense of the word), never bigoted or eccentric, and at every point displaying the mature reflection of an independent mind. The influence of existentialism and neo-protestantism is visible throughout; but the author is not ensnared by fashions of thought. Its style is so compressed that the book calls for very patient reading; and, in parts at least, it presupposes a certain training in philosophy and theology. The professional student of those branches of knowledge simply must read and digest this book.

But on what grounds is it to be commended to the minister concerned in his weekly work with the average congregation? Will it help him in evangelism? That is what he wants to know.

First, then, this is a book to be read devotionally. Though its language and style is far enough removed from that of many expressions of piety, it has the essential quality of bringing one all the time face to face with ultimate facts, concerns, and mysteries; and demanding decision and surrender. Our generation has largely lost its sense of the spiritual dimension: a minister's fundamental task is to bring his people into the larger realm that is man's home. To do this he must himself live in that realm; and this book will help him to do it. As he reads he will find himself in the presence of " being itself ", of the divine forces that bring life, and save from the destruction which is man's final fear.

Then, secondly, a minister needs to understand his people and the wider world of men. He will be helped to this by contact with his folk; but also by being with someone who understands contemporary men better than most of them understand themselves. The reader of Tillich will time and time again discover illumination on just those fields of experience that are often so baffling.

Thus strengthened a minister may be able to lead his people to vaster visions and truer perspectives: and unless men and women to-day have vision and perspective the outlook for the human race is bleak.

Having stated the grounds on which I believe the thoughtful Christian should buy and study this book, I will give a very few examples of the riches he will find.

Systematic Theology, according to Tillich, is the outcome of the encounter of the Christian message with the existing situation in any generation. If this is so, we are delivered from the harassing perplexity how far we must " adapt " the Christian message, how far proclaim it in all its " strangeness ". Theology is the outcome of the meeting of eternal truth and changing situations. Hence while truth abides, theologies must change, or be irrelevant. Being the product of human minds all theological systems are marked by finitude; nothing finite can be final. This is Tillich's description of the situation the Church has to confront. " To-day man experiences his present situation in terms of disruption, conflict, self-destruction, meaninglessness, and despair in all realms of life. This experience is expressed in the arts and in literature, conceptualised in existential philosophy, actualised in political cleavages of all kinds, and analysed in the psychology of the unconscious." The question arising out of this experience, Tillich says, " is the question of a reality in which the self-estrangement of our existence is overcome, a reality of reconciliation and reunion, of creativity, meaning and hope." (p. 55). Compare the following sentences. " To lose one's destiny is to lose the meaning of one's being. Destiny is not a meaningless fate. It is necessity united with meaning." (p. 223). It is impossible to go back from such sentences to, say, the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians without finding in them new relevance and compelling power. The way in which Scripture is illuminated by our author is all the more arresting because he does not express himself in specifically biblical language, and very seldom refers to specific passages. This is consonant with another feature of his thought. He avoids the narrow biblicism of some schools of writers to-day, and finds in all the serious ponderings of men a preparation for this Gospel of Christ and a source for theology.

His treatment of knowledge is of profound significance for religion and for comprehending the present situation. In knowledge the subject-object relationship is transcended: because all real knowledge involves union. Neither subject nor object can continue unaffected by the other. The Logos structure of the human mind links itself to the Logos structure of reality. It will be interesting to see how in succeeding volumes Tillich links this principle with the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Spirit. Meanwhile we note its application to the stress on knowledge in the Johannine writings. No one can know anything without being grasped and, in a measure, changed by the reality. St. Paul, too, looked forward to apprehending that for which he had been apprehended by Christ Jesus.

In some striking sentences Tillich says " Knowledge is more than a fulfilling; it also transforms and heals; this would be impossible if the knowing subject were only a mirror of the object, remaining in unconquered distance from it." He goes on—" true knowledge includes union and, therefore, openness to receive that with which one unites. This is the knowledge of which Paul also speaks, the *gnosis* which in New Testament Greek means cognitive, sexual, and mystical union at the same time." (p. 107).

Again he reminds us that there is a knowledge which aims only at controlling; the technical knowledge which deals with things. Wherever this type of knowing has extended its sway over living beings we find the catastrophic results which appear in the modern totalitarian states. Here lies the root of so much of our contemporary malaise.

It would be possible to go on almost endlessly showing how Tillich lights up this and that which we have met on life's road. I shall content myself with two more examples. Of paradox he writes " There is in the last analysis, only *one* genuine paradox in the Christian message—the appearance of that which conquers existence under the conditions of existence . . . . The acceptance of this paradox is not the acceptance of the absurd, but it is the state of being grasped by the power of that which breaks into our existence from above it." (p. 64).

Of symbols he says " Religious symbols are double-edged. They are directed toward the infinite which they symbolise *and* toward the finite through which they symbolise it . . . . If a segment of reality is used as a symbol for God, the realm of reality from which it is taken is, so to speak, elevated into the realm of the holy." (p. 267).

It is not possible in any review to do justice to the great argument of the book. That would require a volume. It must suffice to say that Tillich first justifies our faith that we can know God, and trust our knowledge. This occupies the first part " Reason and Revelation". Then he goes on to speak of the God who is known, His nature as pure, absolute Being and unconquerable Life; and our relation to Him. And all the time as we read we are aware of being drawn into the Presence and of being reassured that in Him we have nothing to fear. Finitude loses its terrors. We accept our state as finite, worship, and are content. Truth as proclaimed in the Christian faith, as disclosed in the Incarnation, meets the situation in which our lot has been cast, and we are not afraid to live.

By basing the thought of God on the concept of Being Tillich makes impossible the question, Does God exist? For the very question contradicts the whole concept of God. And more, by his insistence on God as Life he contrives to make us know that our own lives are grounded in His and therein find their fulfilment.

C. J. BARKER.

ESSAYS IN BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

THE ROOT OF THE VINE. By ANTON FRIDRICHSEN and others. Dacre Press. 16s.

THIS BOOK consists of a collection of seven "Essays in Biblical Theology", by Professor Fridrichsen and other past and present teachers of theology in the University of Uppsala, all of whom, we are assured in the Introduction, have been pupils of Professor Fridrichsen. This explains the unity of outlook and purpose which distinguishes this from many other collective works, but which is fully compatible with independence and individuality in presentation.

The titles indicate the scope and interests of the book—"The Theology of Creation in the Old and New Testaments" (G. Lindeskog), "The Idea of God's People in the Bible" (G. A. Danell), "Jesus, St John and St Paul" (A. Fridrichsen), "The Called and the Chosen. An Essay on Election" (K. Stendahl), "The New Exodus of Salvation according to St. Paul" (H. Sahlin), "The Ministry in the New Testament" (H. Riesenfeld), and "A Synopsis of Early Christian Preaching" (B. Reicke). Its design is to discover and expound the unity of the Biblical revelation and the continuity of its ideas and imagery in the two Testaments.

In recent years Scandinavian, and particularly Swedish, theology has become increasingly and deservedly known and valued in this country, while at the same time our contacts have become more frequent and intimate with the Church of Sweden, which has many features of peculiar interest to Englishmen, as a truly national Church, reformed (though not Reformed) and Catholic, and prominent since the days of Archbishop Söderblom in the ecumenical movement. Most recently it has been in the field of Old Testament study that Sweden has had most to offer us, and this present collection of essays, which covers the whole field of Biblical theology, and so introduces us to recent Swedish work on the New Testament also, is sure of a ready welcome.

In its concern for exegesis and a properly theological understanding of the Bible, it shares a tendency, apparent also in much contemporary English and German theology, to correct the one-sided emphasis on criticism once fashionable, and also to question the presuppositions of " liberalism ", while it is also anxious to avoid the relapse into fundamentalism which too ready a rejection of liberalism may involve. As Fridrichsen says in his essay, which in many ways sets the tone of the whole collection: " We are witnessing the commencement of a new era in Biblical scholarship . . . the discovery of the fundamental unity of the Bible. But this unity is not a uniformity. On the contrary, it is to the interest of faith to have disclosed variety, growth and movement . . . our aim is to discern history, the continuity of events, reality working and being transformed—in short, eschatological fulfilment in preparation under the Old Israel, in realization through Jesus Christ, and in interpretation by his Church " (pp. 59f.).

A characteristic of this " new era " is an interest in typology, which is indeed a consequence of its emphasis on the unity of the Bible. Typology is not, of course, new. It is found in the New Testament, but it is not without its dangers, not the least of which is that it tends towards an over-emphasis on the unity of the Bible which obscures the distinctive qualities of both Testaments. There is an essential continuity between the Testaments, but continuity must not be confused wih identity, and though Fridrichsen is careful to say " this unity is not a uniformity ", one cannot be confident that he and his pupils have fully learnt this lesson. Typological exegesis is in danger of obscuring the paradoxical novelty of the Gospel, which, even when it takes over ideas from the Old Testament, radically refashions them. The parable of the new wine and old bottles is one the typologists should not forget.

Even the precedent of the New Testament writers themselves must be followed with caution. Much of their Old Testament exegesis is forced, and their use of texts arbitrary. This is due perhaps to their apologetic concern to present the new faith to the Jews, which leads them to argue *ad hominem* in ways which it would be profitless for us to follow.

All this, however, is meant not so much as criticism of these actual essays as a warning against too enthusiastic and undiscriminating an adoption of the new outlook. But, in conclusion, one must freely and thankfully acknowledge that these essays contain much of great interest and value, and wholeheartedly endorse the all too modest claim made in Hebert's Introduction, that " these essays were worth collecting and publishing ". Indeed they were.

J. N. SANDERS

CHRISTIAN LOVE

AGAPE AND EROS. By ANDERS NYGREN. Translated by PHILIP S. WATSON. S.P.C.K. 35s.

SINCE its first appearance Bishop Nygren's book has been hailed as a major work of scholarship. It contains a theological assessment of the nature of Christian Love and an historical interpretation of its place in Christian thought. The work is ably planned and beautifully executed. Its main theme is clearly presented and the reader is plentifully supplied with halting places along his way in the shape of frequent summaries of the stage which the argument has reached. The book is lengthy, but interest never flags, comprehensive but far from dull. It presents a fascinating blend of history, ethics and dogmatic theology of which the nearest English approximation is the Bishop of Oxford's Bampton Lectures *The Vision of God*.

A work of this kind depends very largely upon the axioms of the writer. Dr. Nygren's own position is clear-cut—perhaps too much so for his theme. The closely related works of Professor Burnaby and Fr. Martin D'Arcy should be used as correctives. For Nygren the concept of Eros, the upward nisus of the soul towards God, derived ultimately from Greek sources is in sharp contrast with the Christian Agape, the downward thrust of the Love of God which is the prerogative of the Gospel. The tension between these two ideas forms one aspect of the interplay between Christianity and the Greek milieu into which it was transplanted and the two must be considered as polar opposites, not as complementaries.

Here Dr. Nygren writes as a convinced Lutheran; others may not feel so confident. While the Christian Gospel proclaims as its supreme mystery the downward surge of the Love of God revealed particularly in the Cross of Christ, it is equally true that this Divine irruption meets a corresponding striving upwards from below. Clearly the priority must lie where Nygren (following the New Testament) places it, but does this exclude an equally valid Christian interpretation of Eros. Bishop Nygren is emphatic that the tension must be understood as an antithesis, but is he necessarily right? That the New Testament has virtually nothing to say about Eros is significant but two reasons may be assigned for doubting whether it is decisive. The importance of Agape was so strikingly fresh and decisive that the New Testament scarcely has eyes for anything else. Further the tendency to confuse the Heavenly with the Earthly Aphrodite was a widespread danger in the Mediterranean world into which Christianity was born. Here however the debate passes into other spheres, the relation between Scripture and Tradition, the Augustinian and semi-Augustinian doctrines of Man and the relation between the Christian " Sondergut " and its Hellenic setting and it is much to be feared that on none of these the Bishop of Lund would altogether see eye to eye with me.

The reader, then, will do well as he approaches the book to realize that there are other interpretations of the evidence which can reasonably be maintained.

On the historical side Dr. Nygren shows himself a reliable guide to what has been actually taught in the Church in past ages on the relation between Agape and Eros. His estimate of St. Justin is possibly pitched in too high a key but his interpretation of Gnosticism is wholly in line with recent research and his rejection of Harnack's opinion was even more independent and courageous when the book was first written than it would appear to-day. St. Irenaeus is justly acclaimed as a clear champion of the Biblical view His estimates of the Alexandrine and Cappadocian Fathers follow the pattern which his axioms would lead us to expect but his interpretation of St. Augustine is more surprising. We have become familiar with the tendency of Protestant theologians to take a "night stop" to refuel with St. Augustine in their breath-taking flight between the New Testament and the Reformation. But Dr. Nygren will have none of this. Whatever may be the truth about his doctrine of Greece, St. Augustine's doctrine of Love stands nearer to the Catholic synthesis than to the thought of Luther. It is refreshing to find a Lutheran scholar who can write with such evident knowledge of and sympathy with the Scholastics.

The heart of the book lies paradoxically at the beginning and the end. Does the New Testament support Dr. Nygren's thesis? The answer here must (subject to the qualifications noted above) be Yes. But the section on Luther is more difficult to assess. Does he represent (as Nygren claims) a thorough rediscovery of the New Testament insight or a typically violent over emphasis of one side of the tension? Perhaps the truth is that Luther aimed at the one and only succeeded in achieving the other. Dr. Nygren's view is however clearly expressed and strongly supported.

High praise must be awarded to the Translator who has accomplished a fine piece of work. The production by the S.P.C.K. is worthy alike of the book and of themselves. If the author has not succeeded in converting his reviewer, at least he has not lost an admirer.

H. E. W. TURNER.

THE LITURGY

ANGLICAN PUBLIC WORSHIP. By COLIN DUNLOP, Dean of Lincoln. S.C.M. Press. 5s. paper boards, 7s. 6d. buckram.

UNWITTINGLY, no doubt, the publishers of this slim, close-packed, and comfortably produced book have done it a disservice by announcing that " it was written mainly for those for whom the Book of Common Prayer is not the basis of public worship," though, as they truly say, Anglicans too " will benefit for its wise and lucid exposition ". Indeed, for Anglicans this presenting afresh the case for the traditional liturgies is a godsend. Worshipping regularly, accepting her teaching, and delighting in the grave majesty of her services, many a devoted member of the English Church knows in his heart that here is truly the activity of "a Yon-side religion," yet he feels the need to thread together as a whole these vital experiences and to examine anew the underlying principles which will throw light on the unexplained or doubtful. What he needs, in fact, is the "camera obscura", in the changed view of which he can relate this to that from a new angle.

Here, evidently, Bishop Dunlop is a specially gifted guide. The balance of his exposition, its sharp clarity, its felicity of illustration and quotation, its temper of sweet reasonableness, to say nothing of its practical knowledge about "the Materials of Worship"—the author deals in successive sections with Words, Music, and Ceremonial—, contribute to a cyclopedic yet unlaboured handbook, the more so because the foundation for such detailed studies is "A Justification of Public Worship" and "The Background of Public Worship" that is essentially theocentric, not egocentric:

> Because public worship is a shared activity, its outward form is for the most part a form of words and actions consented to by the Church, as adequately expressing the mind of the Church in obedience to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. An individual Christian coming to church comes not so much to offer worship as to join in an offering continually going on. He comes not to initiate worship but to contribute to, and be carried up by, a worship which never ceases, the source and fountain of which lies in the eternal activity of Christ. He will not therefore expect to dominate the proceedings himself, nor hope that his own private needs and aspirations will receive priority of attention. He knows that the experience and understanding of the whole Church is far wider and deeper than his own and he will expect to profit by it and be led by it into paths and regions of adoration and praise which by himself he would never have found.
> . . . Because heaven may best be understood by us as a City, we can best prepare for it by learning *as a community* to delight in the Lord. . . So worship is more than a mechanism for feeling good, more than an occasion for "giving our vote for God" or setting a good example; more than a serious attention given to "one above", more even than witness to truth or reception of grace: it is to be led into the Father's presence and to live the life of God.

And the application of this:

> I want rather, not a liturgy which comes down to my level, but which will take me and my fellow-worshippers out of ourselves and our little world into a vaster experience of God than ever I can imagine with my modest spiritual resources. A fixed liturgy, gloriously indifferent to my worries and notions, not hedged about with the limitations of life in my neighbourhood or the decade in which I live, is going to do for me just what needs doing. It will confront me with the eternal verities and place me upon the everlasting hills; I shall realize that my thoughts are not God's thoughts nor His ways mine; and then I may begin with angels and archangels to worship and adore. Having done this, I can view the atomic bomb and the election to the City Council in a more balanced perspective.

As a natural corollary to such studies, the author gives four chapters on "The Book of Common Prayer", on the relation of

"Eucharist and Sacrifice", and a more detailed and admirably balanced examination of "The Order of the Holy Communion"; finally, with penetrating insight, he deals with "Morning and Evening Prayer". In the latter, to an unusually helpful degree, Anglican and non-Anglican alike are led to a clearer understanding, not so much of the psalms in particular, as of the right use of the psalms, the value of their orderly recitation. Who is the "I" of the psalms? Am I right in usurping his place? Does each psalm centre round my person?

Space forbids quotation, but the temptation is persistent.

Above all, the Dean does not pretend that a vital participation in this liturgical worship is easy. It is "hard work", not passive reception.

It was one of the religious aims of the Reformers that by the use of a vernacular liturgy there might be restored to the faithful that precious heritage by which the actual words of the services might stream through their minds and wills, and over their own lips. At this day, 400 years later, the Roman Communion is occupied in exploring the same problem (to witness, *The English Liturgist*). We do well to treasure our heritage, and we are helped to do so by this book. It is tonic in effect, and the fine sweep of its thesis is handled by an artist who can speak with authority and simplicity on issues theological, liturgical, musical, and historical.

It may be permitted, perhaps, to regret that the scope of this book was not judged wide enough to cover a reference to that fine recasting of the Eucharistic Consecration Prayer which has full spiritual authority in our own land, if not the force of Parliamentary authority, i.e. the rite of 1928 — a form available to all, answering to the primitive classical pattern of the West, unscarred by medieval controversies, and bringing us into close line with the Eucharistic Prayers of, for instance, Scotland, South Africa, and the United States.

May one welcome the book as a fair fruit of Anglican piety, within the reach of every Anglican to pluck and digest. Non-Anglicans, too, will join us in the harvest, and the Harvest Home is the unity of Christendom.

QUESTATOR

JEREMY TAYLOR

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JEREMY TAYLOR. By C. J. STRANKS. S.P.C.K. (Published for the Church Historical Society). 25s.

THE student of Jeremy Taylor is confronted with a number of striking paradoxes. By common consent Taylor was one of the greatest of Anglican divines and English men of letters; yet a large proportion of his work was written in Wales and Ireland. There have been few who have more vigorously and more nobly defended the Church of England; yet at the Restoration he was thought to be too "unsafe" for the reward of an English bishopric. His devotional works have rarely been excelled; yet (explicitly at least) he has told us little about his own spiritual life. There are many indications that he was a man of many friends; yet few records of his friendships remain. His writings are voluminous; yet what he has left on record about himself and his movements is almost negligible.

Of these paradoxes the last three are especially embarrassing to any prospective biographer: there is so much that one would like to know, and so little that one finds it possible to tell. For the same reasons any reader interested in Taylor looks forward to the appearance of a new biographer with undisguised enthusiasm: is there someone who can tell us even a little more than the little we already know for certain about him? The answer is that Canon Stranks can, and in this book he does. Of special interest is the use he has been able to make of the copies of thirteen letters discovered in the library of Sir John Murray. These letters, written between 1658 and 1666, twelve of them from Taylor to Lord Conway and one from Lord Conway to Taylor, are invaluable for the light they throw on Taylor's thought and activity just before he left London for Ireland, and for helping us to understand the reasons for his departure and the circumstances of his life in Ireland both before and after he became a bishop. Canon Stranks has also made a greater use than Gosse of Adair's *True Narrative* to elucidate the dispute between Taylor and the Ulster Presbyterians; and in the State Papers he has found information which illuminates the hitherto obscure circumstances of Taylor's death, the fate of his family and the scramble for his vacant office. The result of all this is that " The Irish portion of his life is now better known than any other " (p. 11).

The new material relating to Taylor's life, together with a number of new "reconstructions" and the correction of not a few errors of fact or confessed guesses in earlier biographers like Heber and Gosse, is by far the most valuable part of the book and, indeed, provides its real justification. But, as the title indicates, it is not concerned simply with the " Life " but also with the " Writings ", and Canon Stranks undertakes the exceedingly arduous task of introducing the reader to all of Taylor's works in chronological order. It is a task which calls for wide knowledge, acute sensibility and not a little versatility, for any one aspect of Taylor's work can provide material for the professed specialist whether in theology or literature. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, if there is not a great deal that can be called brilliant in the uneven quality of Canon Strank's exposition and criticism: the measure of his achievement is to be gauged rather by the fact that, notwithstanding its faults and inadequacies, there is no other book that provides a better general introduction to the whole of Taylor's work. Many readers will probably think that Canon Stranks is at his best when dealing with the sermons and books like *The Great Exemplar*. They will also thank him for many things he has to say about the master's style. It is so often mistakenly supposed that Taylor's prose was always of the same involved, ornate, lofty and luxuriant kind. But that is a fallacy born of an exclusive acquaintance with passages popularly associated with "Eng. Lit". Taylor was, in fact, the master of several styles, and if his imagination could create language which outsoars many poets he was also capable of prose that is plain and direct.

We are reminded, very rightly, that "All his life Taylor's chief concern was with practical religion rather than speculative theology" (p. 76). But, although Canon Stranks has some good things to say on this score and, in particular, does justice to Taylor's favourite theme of repentance, his treatment of Taylor's moral theology as a whole is not the strongest feature of the book. Here attention may be drawn to four points. 1. Canon Stranks refers to Taylor's rejection of the "time-honoured division" of mortal and venial sin, and seems rather surprised that he should "discard a distinction which is Scriptural" (p. 146). But the point is that, whether the distinction is truly Scriptural or not, Taylor and the English casuists generally were convinced that the distinction *as defined and made use of by their Roman Catholic contemporaries* was altogether contrary to the teaching of Scripture and for that reason to be rejected. 2. When commenting upon Taylor's treatment of the problem of gambling, Canon Stranks writes: "The effects of gambling upon individuals and ultimately on the nation as a whole is beyond his ken" (p. 212). One might quote several passages to show how completely mistaken this judgement is, but perhaps the following will suffice:

> There are so many evils in the use of these sports [cards and dice], they are made trades of fraud, they are accompanied so with drinking and swearing, they are so scandalous by blasphemies and quarrels, so infamous by the misspending our precious time, and the ruin of many families, they so often make wise men fools and slaves of passion, that we may say of them that use these inordinately, they are in an ocean of mischiefs, and can hardly swim to shore without perishing. And therefore it is no wonder that holy men and wise commonwealths . . . have forbidden them utterly (Works, Vol. 10, p. 588).

3. Writing of the *Ductor Dubitantium,* Canon Stranks says: "If there could be any doubt on such a subject, his words make it quite clear that he never intended his work for the general reader, but only for the director of souls" (p. 204). But exactly the opposite is the truth. On pp. xix-xx of the Preface to that great work Taylor carefully explains:

> I intend here to offer to the world a general instrument of moral theology, by the rules and measures of which the guides of souls may determine the particulars that shall be brought before them; *and those who love to enquire may also find their duty so described, that unless their duties be complicated . . . men that are wise may guide themselves in all their proportions of conscience* (my italics).

4. We are told that "when he wrote *Ductor Dubitantium,* Taylor's aim was not so much to discover principles, as to offer a trustworthy guide which depended upon a consensus of opinion and experience"

(p. 213). It is not easy to understand exactly what this sentence means, but Taylor himself made it abundantly clear that his primary concern was the exposition of general principles: " For although I have not given answers to every doubt, yet have I told what we are to do when any doubt arises ", and the " special cases " are given " by way of instance and illustration " (*Works.* Vol. 9. p. xx).

When commenting upon the widespread neglect of the Caroline divines by members of the Church of England, Canon Stranks remarks that in Taylor's case this may be partly due to the size of his works: " Ten large volumes of close print . . . may well be frightening to those who do not know where to begin ". With modest reference to his own study, he adds: " For any who are hindered in this way, a book which tries to show the main outline of Taylor's thought, and to indicate where so much that is stimulating and delightful is found, may be of use." It will indeed be of great use. But a serious warning should be given to any reader who may be tempted to rely entirely upon Canon Stranks's book for his quotations from Taylor. The misquotations are so very numerous that it is difficult to account for them, though the fewness of the errors in the general exposition (*e.g.*, intrusive " the ", p. 161, line 3; " *De Obligate Conscientæ* " for " *Obligatione,*" on p. 203; " concience " for " conscience " on last line of p. 206; " bad " for " bade ", p. 209, line 29) would suggest that they are due less to careless proof-reading than to the author's original copying. There is little respect shown for Taylor's punctuation, and the verbal inaccuracies are legion: in some cases words unaccountably disappear, while in others new words intrude themselves; sometimes it is a matter of misspelling, and at other times the right word is replaced by the wrong one. Errors can also be found in the references. To check all the quotations would be a heavy labour, but I have checked a fair proportion in the edition explicitly stated (p. 6) to have been used by Canon Stranks (Heber, revised by Eden, 10 Vols. 1847-52) and the following list relating to different parts of the book may give some idea of the extraordinary extent of the inaccuracies.

There are 6 errors in the prefatory quotation from Rust's funeral sermon (p. 6); an intrusive " as " on p. 48, line 22; 4 mistakes in the quotation on pp. 58-59, including the omission of 4 words, and 2 mistakes in the next quotation on p. 59. There are 5 inaccuracies on p. 74; 2 in the first quotation on p. 75, and the reference is p. 350 (*not* 349); 2 errors in the third quotation on p. 75, and the first 3 words of the fourth " quotation " are not Taylor's. There are 9 errors on p. 76; 2 on p. 78; 4 on p. 79; 3 on p. 80; 4 on p. 81. On p. 82 there is one mistake on line 34, and reference 3 should read " p. 601 " (*not* p. 604). There are 3 errors in the long quotation on p. 83; 2 on p. 86; 1 on p. 91. On p. 92 the second " quotation " is in fact a paraphrase. There are 2 errors on p. 93; and on p. 95 reference 4 should be " p. 156 " (*not* p. 157). On p. 98 there are 5 errors in " I am weary . . . "; and 4 on p. 99. On p. 101 there are 2 mistakes in the second quotation, and the page numbers of the two references are in the wrong order. On p. 102 there are 6 mistakes in " By the cross of Christ . . . ". On p. 149, line 30, and again on p. 153, line 14, " Chapter VII " should read " Chapter VI ". There is one inaccuracy on p. 154; 6 on p. 155; 5 on p. 156; 3 on p. 157. On p. 158 the " quotation " on lines 25-6 is in fact a paraphrase. On p. 159 the first reference should read " p. 573 " (*not* p. 575), and there is one error on line 11. On p. 160 " Chapter VII of *Unum Necessarium* " should be " Chapter VI ". There are 7 mistakes on p. 174. On p. 175 no reference is given for the first quotation (it should be *Works*. Vol. 1. p. 74). On p. 176 there is an intrusive " he " on line 17. On p. 179 read " corruptible " on the last line, and the second reference should be " p. 624 " (*not* p. 642). There are 3 mistakes on p. 222; 1 on p. 223; 7 on p. 224; 6 on p. 238, including the statement that the 83 " Rules and Advices to the Clergy . . ." are divided into five sections, whereas in fact they are divided into *seven* sections. There are 5 errors in the two rules quoted on p. 239. There are 3 mistakes on p. 246; 1 on p. 247; 4 on p. 264. On p. 274 there are 5 mistakes in the first quotation and 8 in the second; and on the same page the first reference should be " p. cccxxiv " (*not* p. cccxxv), and the third reference should be " pp. cccxxv-cccxxvii ".

THOMAS WOOD.

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

THE CHRISTIAN DILEMMA. — Catholic Church: Reformation. By W. H. VAN DE POL, D.D. Translated by G. VAN HALL, Ph.D. Dent. 21s.

THIS book is a most important contribution to the Ecumenical Movement. Its author is a Roman Catholic, a professor at Nijmegen University. He fully understands the positive position of Protestantism, having passed through it and yet retaining a deep appreciation of its spirituality. He is the more anxious to explain the attitude of the Vatican towards the Ecumenical Movement and why Rome refuses to participate officially in it. This, he clearly explains, is not due to pride, self-sufficiency or ambition, as is so frequently asserted by non-Romans. What lies behind the aloofness is something which the author regards as the heart of the problem of religious dissension. " Some day," he writes, " when all discussion in the Ecumenical Movement has come to an end, and the final results are clear for everyone to see, it will become evident that the problem of the opposition, separation and division of Christendom is, at bottom, no other than that of the opposition between the Catholic Church and the Reformation." (p. xii). Here, he declares, is the inescapable choice facing the whole Christian Church. He calls it the Christian Dilemma. So long as it remains there can be no solution of the problem of unity.

The author's purpose, therefore, is to probe this problem from the practical standpoint. Accepting the existing situation of our divisions, he deals with facts rather than with speculations. He sets out to establish the facts as accurately and impartially as possible, and to determine the issues correctly.

In the first chapter, accordingly, he presents a valuable analysis of the Absolute Character of the Revelation of Christ which both Catholics and Protestants accept. He is able to declare that both Catholic and Protestant are at one in their understanding of the scriptural nature of Revelation. On both sides it is acknowledged that the Revelation is absolute and historical, that it comes from God carrying his authority, and "the act of faith has for its object this immutable revelation" (p. 14). Yet our divisions arise over such questions as "the nature of faith, the method of acquiring revealed knowledge and the very object of faith itself" (p. 14). In other words, Christendom is divided on the question of the content of revelation rather than on its form.

An important digression, however, arises at this point, in which the problem presented by religious liberalism is dealt with.. The author regards Liberalism as essentially a problem of Protestantism because the Liberal Protestant criticizes the orthodox Protestant as misconceiving the nature of religion and revelation and for using Scripture in a "Roman" way. The Liberal parts company with both Catholic and Protestant in regarding the Divine Revelation not as to its extent and content but as a qualitative perception of God and his ways. Nevertheless, "the positive worth of the Liberal religious spirit must be fully acknowledged" (p. 19), although his approach and interpretation must be rejected because the Liberal really attempts to make God in his own image. Man's understanding must first be broken before he can make an act of faith. Submission is demanded of him. "Revelation, preaching and faith have a definite and unchangeable scope and content" (p. 21). For that reason the author feels justified in leaving the Liberal experiment on one side in considering the fundamental dilemma facing Christendom.

But there remains the unique and challenging problem of Anglicanism. It is fully recognized that Anglicanism cannot be explained as the fruit of indifference, lack of principle or compromise. The author regards it as "the historical embodiment of the complicated and many-sided set of problems arising from the dilemma of Catholic Church or Reformation" (p. 23). Nevertheless, Anglicanism has never been content with this antithesis. It waits a solution. Fr. Van de Pol recognizes that the main inspiration lying behind the whole of the Ecumenical Movement has come from the Church of England, and that it is due to her position in Christendom that the Reformed Churches have become conscious of the many problems that divide Christendom. In the long last, however, the Church of England along with the Churches of the Reformation will have to come face to face with the ultimate dilemma. In the meantime, until this final issue is decided "it is of great importance that there exists at least one large ecclesiastical communion which for the time being defers the final choice between the two possibilities " (p. 189).

This is a book that must be read and pondered by all who seek the peace and unity of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. It will help to focus discussion on the vital issues. Rome's very aloofness due to her religious convictions cannot be ignored and should not be attributed to wrong motives. It arises out of a different attitude than that of the Churches of the Reformation to existing revealed reality. And this in turn explains why the problem of revelation for both Catholic and Protestant is concerned with its content. There is a coherent body of revealed truth which all must face and acknowledge. This book lays out that problem clearly, with strict impartiality and above all with the utmost charity.

E. C. RICH.

AN EPISCOPAL COMMENTARY

A COMPANION TO ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL. By the late RT. REV. JOHN STEPHEN HART. Melbourne University Press. 12s. 6d.

THE late Bishop of Wangaratta during his ten years of retirement devoted himself almost exclusively to the study of St. John's Gospel. By birth an Australian, he spent the whole of his life in his own country and, after a long and varied career, was enabled to have his work printed just the day before he died.

His book consists of two parts, the first being under the somewhat forbidding title " Controversy ", the second forming by far the larger and more important part, " The Commentary ", which, it may be said at once, forms a valuable addition to the large and ever-growing Library on the Fourth Gospel.

His treatment of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is far too downright, and, although the reviewer sympathizes with many of his conclusions, yet he handles his opponents, especially those hailing from Germany, in a way which leaves much to be desired. Strange to say, his admission that " The Christ of St. John does make a different impression upon us from that we get from the earlier Gospels ", has not led him in the very least to soften his remarks about those whose standpoint differs from his own. In all probability he is right in allowing that the Evangelist was well acquainted with St. Mark's Gospel, but he is on more debatable ground when he asserts that St. John made no use of St. Luke. Bishop Hart is convinced that John as a rule seems only to repeat Mark's stories in order to correct or expand them. Moreover, his corrections are always right or worth while. Our author in his Commentary is at special pains to point out that the cleansing of the Temple belongs to the very beginning of Christ's ministry and not to Holy Week where Mark places it followed by the other two Evangelists. With considerable skill he defends the fact of the raising of Lazarus against the Synoptists' silence.

Turning to the actual commentary, the bishop has certainly made the stories live, especially about Photina, the name the medieval Church gave to the woman of Samaria. In regard to the raising of Lazarus, he makes the challenging comment: " It is because of Martha that the story is fully told, for it is the picture of a rare home life that John leaves with us, rather than the miracle itself, and he seems to feel that while everyone must love Mary, not everyone can see how splendid Martha is. 'And Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus ', and so did John, and in the same order " (p. 143). This is somewhat far-fetched. There is no reason to alter the ordinary view that the raising of Lazarus was to show that Jesus was the resurrection and the life, nor has sufficient allowance been made in the Evangelist's estimate of Mary for the episode of her anointing our Lord's feet with the pound of ointment. The characters which appear on the scene in St. John's Gospel are very real, but they never exist entirely for themselves. They are there to enhance the glory and love of the Redeemer himself. On the other hand, what the bishop says about the Evangelist mentioning most of his fellow Apostles but telling us very little about them is surely just the reverse of the truth.

His description of how the Lord healed the lame man at the pool of Bethesda is suggestive. " Undoubtedly Christ is filled with pity, as we are ourselves—perhaps more. Suddenly he cries, ' Rise up, pick up your bed, walk '. That is exactly what psychiatrists sometimes do with equal success, apparently because of the shock of the sudden command ". Then Bishop Hart pulls himself up and continues: " To think of Christ, however, as a psychiatrist almost two thousand years before his time, would be more blasphemous than to deny his power to heal, since it would make him a mere man of unnatural and unknown kind " (p. 86). But does this follow? (*cf. Psychology, Religion and Healing,* by Leslie D. Weatherhead, pp. 39 ff.).

With the exception of his treatment of the feet-washing, which strikes a somewhat jarring note (p. 157), Bishop Hart's exposition is worthy of very high praise and, in particular, his comments on the Discourse of the Bread of Life in Chapter vi are most illuminating. To do justice to the author's thoughts, pages 104 to 106 should be read over and over again.

The book is well written, well printed and attractively bound—but may one express the hope that the Melbourne University Press will see their way towards issuing it in a cheaper edition?

W. H. RIGG.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

THE SOURCES OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. By the late WILFRED L. KNOX. Edited by H. CHADWICK. Vol. 1. St. Mark. C.U.P. 21s.

ST. MARK'S Gospel is " belaboured " now even more than the *Didache* was a few years ago. Quite apart from Dr. Vincent Taylor's admirable commentary on it, we have had many invitations recently to study it in different ways; to look at " pictures in the fire " and to find in Mark an intricate pattern based on typology; or to visualise St. Mark writing his gospel for lectionary purposes, marking off each section for each Sunday in the calendar; or, as too often in recent years, to see in it a collection of anecdotes without any real chronological connexion even after the account of the Transfiguration and to read it as though it were a religious drama rich in spiritual values independent of their present context. The late Dr. W. L. Knox took a different line of approach. He seeks to identify some of the sources which appear to have existed as independent units before their compilation by Mark. While another book by Dr. Knox dealing with Matthew and Luke remains to be edited, here use is made of Luke and other synoptic material where they may provide evidence for a source different from and parallel to Mark's, and which St. Mark may himself have used sometimes.

Dr. Knox knew that the Formcritics would call his book heretical; how shocked, indeed, they will be to find that two of the sources analysed here can scarcely be later than A.D. 40! What will have happened to that " whole generation " in which the " folk-lore " of the primitive community arose? While Dr. Knox can praise Dibelius where praise is due, he criticizes justly and severely many of the speculations of Bultmann and of Dibelius too, and scores many shrewd hits against Formcriticism generally (see pp. 5, 23, 24, 34, 49, 54, 55, 61, 63, 68, 69, 79, 87, 101, 112, 124, 144). E. Meyer had pointed out that in Mark we have clear indications of sources, but Formcritics led scholars away from this truth down a long cul-de-sac from which this book may rescue them. At the same time Dr. Knox knew how tentative must be any analysis of sources behind Mark, and he would have been the first to acknowledge that not all his arguments are equally convincing.

It may be noted that he does not rely so much as Professors C. H. Turner and T. W. Manson on indications of a Petrine source consisting of passages which read as though they were originally " we-sections " in the mouth of St. Peter turned by St. Mark into " they-sections ". This book does not attempt to trace any clues leading to suggestions of personal contact between the author and Apostles like St. Peter and St. Barnabas, with whom there is good evidence to believe that St. Mark came into close touch and with whom he discussed more than the weather presumably. One reply might well be that here a " Twelve-source " is picked out and a Disciples-source " distinct from it, and that if we wish we may go on to think of one such as St. Peter behind the former and one like St. Barnabas behind the latter source, but that to go as far as that is to go beyond the evidence of the two sources in question here.

So far as his thesis can be worked out in detail, Dr. Knox did so with great skill and ingenuity, illuminated with most erudite notes based on profound knowledge of Hellenistic " parallels ". He suggests that there were at least the following sources: Conflict-stories; the Twelve-source; a book of Parables; the death of the Baptist; the Corban story; a book of localized miracles; a denunciation of the Pharisees; the apocalyptic chapter xiii, if it is not St. Mark's own compilation from smaller units; and the Passion story. This is a thesis which needed to be worked out consistently, and even where one cannot always agree with every suggestion made, almost every page of this book has a striking point to make. Every student of the Synoptic Gospels will be indebted to a very great scholar and also to Mr. Chadwick for this edition of Dr. Knox's *Nachlass* and, as we are told, through this book indirectly to Professor C. H. Dodd and his seminar at Cambridge. Here is a fitting memorial to one who was in Dr. Darwell Stone's view the most brilliant of a very brilliant family.

C. S. C. WILLIAMS.

THE CISTERCIAN WAY

SAINT BERNARD ET LA BIBLE. By P. DUMONTIER. Declée de Brouwer.

THIS is a study of the fashion in which St. Bernard and his Cistercian disciples, and in particular his friend and adviser, William of Saint-Thierry, read and used the Bible. The author shows that it expressed an attitude of mind or, shall we say, spirit very different from the logical reasoning increasingly dominant from the following, the thirteenth, century onwards. It is intuitional and concrete rather than logical and abstract, using images rather than concepts, understanding by what these writers themselves depict as a spiritual " taste " the gift of the Spirit of Love to love. Its use enables these men to make living contact with God as they read and ponder His inspired word, to find Christ everywhere. This, however, does not involve the sustained allegories of the earlier fathers. It is an intuition which immediately —one might say naturally, but it is the second nature of grace— reaches God, reaches Christ in the Biblical texts, and therefore finds Him as the unity underlying Scripture throughout. Scripture, therefore, is its own interpretation, and illuminates itself. At this level texts superficially remote are seen and " tasted " as mutually corroborative.

Père Dumontier, in my opinion, does not make sufficiently clear the relation between this intuitional and penetrative reading of Scripture, which, so to speak, prays the Bible and finds in it everywhere the one God and His revelation in Christ, and the scientific exegesis which seeks to discover what as a text stands in the given context is the meaning intended by the human writer or the speaker he reports. We should be more clearly aware than St. Bernard and his contemporaries could be, or apparently Père Dumontier is, of their respective function in Christian study of the Bible. Nevertheless, since the essence and end of Scripture is knowledge of God, the vital and personal knowledge of a unitive love, the Cistercian way, however arbitrary or fanciful from the standpoint of exegetical scholarship, is a more profound, a more religious knowledge of Scripture than the scientific. Both ways of reading the Bible are on their respective levels legitimate, indeed indispensable, though not for every individual student of the Bible. But we should fully recognize that the spiritual understanding of Scripture may often be remote from the writer's or speaker's meaning, and on the other hand that this meaning, the literal meaning of the Bible text, is sometimes, as St. Augustine saw, unacceptable from the moral and religious point of view.

The writer shows the close connexion between this Bernardine understanding of Scripture and the part played in Cistercian monasticism by *Lectio divina*—Bible reading not for theological study but for personal edification. He does not, however, even raise a question whose answer seems to me of considerable interest and importance—namely, what proportion of the Scriptural quotations made by St. Bernard and others of his school are taken from those portions of Scripture used liturgically: read, that is to say, at Mass or in the Office. Nor the further question, what proportion of these quotations is repetition of the same favourite texts. I have noticed in the recent translation of St. Bernard's letters the Saint's tendency to repeat a few texts. How far is this tendency to be found throughout his writings? I am ignorant of the answer to either question, but am certain they are worth asking and answering.

E. I. WATKIN.

AN IMPORTANT STUDY

THE NAMES OF JESUS. By VINCENT TAYLOR, D.D. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Vincent Taylor has felt, and that not alone, that "there is a temptation to enter too quickly into the realm of Biblical theology and to be intoxicated by the lure of Typology". Accordingly, he has set himself once more to a pursuit which Harnack once called "scavenger's labour". But he does it in a new way. He examines what might be called the incidental language of the earliest disciples:

> The central problems of Christology, afterwards to be debated throughout three centuries, were first raised in the atmosphere of veneration and of worship; they emerged in the catacombs and the attics of the Roman Empire.

It might almost be said that he attempts to overhear their conversation. Of course there is theology behind it, just as there is even when a villager says "One above", or "The Master tells us in the Good Book". But it is not dogmatic. It is caught as it emerges from the terms which Christian people used. And it is factual. An enquiry into the meaning of the Names under which our Lord was spoken of supplies "a welcome note of objectivity in an investigation in which much must be inferential and at times speculative". "The Names of Jesus are both the foreshadowing and the precipitate of Christology in its beginnings". It is a little curious that the language of these extracts should itself be so abstract, because the author's purpose is to appeal from the abstract to the concrete. It may be added that many readers would have welcomed a preliminary chapter about Names in general, as they are used and understood in the Bible.

The book is the work of an accomplished New Testament scholar. Indeed, so great is Professor Taylor's reputation that an Ordination candidate is said to have written in an examination, "As Professor Vincent Taylor has so well said, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself'". The error, though gross, was a deserved compliment. Again and again New Testament passages are brought together and classified in an illuminating way. Among the best examples of this are the sections on "the Word", "the Son of Man" and "Lord". One of the conclusions is that:

> While the titles "the Son" and "His Son" were quite familiar to the primitive communities, they were associated with teaching more than with worship. The first Christians fervently believed in "the Son", but they invoked "the Lord".

Another is:

> The title "Son of Man" disappeared in primitive Christian usage because it was not a generally accepted Messianic title, and because the Greek phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was meaningless to Gentiles. But no title dies without leaving behind it a legacy of influence; and the note of sovereignty in the name reappears in the title "Lord", and its divine meaning in the phrase "Son of God".

and again:

> The title "Son of Man" is not abandoned in favour of "the Servant". On the contrary, it continues to be used exclusively, but with a richer and a deeper meaning. It is as if a familiar air were developed and transposed into a minor key, suggestive of pain and tragedy, in which the royal and kindly note of the original phrase is not lost, but transformed.

On the famous verse Matthew x, 23.—"Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come", which he is disposed to defend as authentic, he remarks acutely that "Probably the saying has suffered in critical estimation from the use made of it by Schweitzer in *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.*"

His method is critical but constructive. The enquiry for him is not an attempt to solve a literary puzzle, or merely to reconstruct an historical situation. Always he has the Christian Creed and his own faith to guide and to assure him. And he knows his subject. There is no special pleading when he rejects more than once the conclusion of a Bousset or a Bultmann. It is because he has the larger view. This larger view appears when, commenting on the Johannine saying, "I am the light of the world", he says:

> It is, I think, a long way removed from the Synoptic saying, "You are the light of the world", although, if it is true, many great commen-

tators have held the contrary. At the most we could not say more than that, under the illumination of the Spirit, the Synoptic saying prompted a still greater claim concerning Jesus. This view is by no means to be accepted in a spirit of resignation. We gain a great theological asset in place of a doubtful historical liability if we trace the name, " the Light of the World ", to the inspired insight of the Evangelist, quickened by his own experience of Christ and by the life and worship of the Church of Ephesus. The name is the creation of dynamic Christological thinking, and in the mind of Christians throughout the centuries it has been felt to ring true. It states what Christ is.

In Part II, which deals with the rather less important names, the fullest treatment is given to " the Stone " and " the Saviour ". It is noted incidentally that " Redeemer " is not Biblical, and also that many of the other modern names are poor, " as depressing as a group of raw, self-conscious recruits, either pietistic or humanistic, laudatory or non-committal ". In this part some of us would have liked a fuller exegesis of " The Great High Priest ", " The Bread of Life " and " The Head of the Body ". Finally, amid the many references to modern literature, we miss any mention of Hort's *The Way, the Truth, the Life,* or of a remarkable Cambridge sermon by Gregory Dix on *The King of the Jews* which was printed in this Journal in January, 1947. These are small things. The book is most welcome, an important contribution to our knowledge of a region that is in part familiar (though even here the classification of passages is enlightening) and in part untrodden. The author rises to a height of austere eloquence in the closing passage of Part I:

> Divinity is felt before it is named, and when it is named the words are inadequate. And this situation obtains throughout the long history of Christology. First the perception, then the halting words. When at length the decisive word of Nicaea is spoken, all we can say is that this is the best that men can do. And if it should be given to modern theology to speak better words, more accordant with the thought of our time, we may be sure that our constructions will run but lamely after a knowledge of Christ which antiquates them almost before they are framed. Christology is the despairing attempt of theologians to keep pace with the Church's apprehension of Christ.

That needed saying, and it is well said.

S. C. Carpenter.

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM

Studies in Muslim Ethics. By Dwight M. Donaldson, D.D. S.P.C.K. 27s. 6d.

Western scholars whose professional studies are wholly or partly concerned with Islam have often had occasion to deplore the lack of a comprehensive work on Muslim ethics. There are abundant, indeed superabundant, materials, but it may be this fact itself which has helped to deter would-be students from attempting the task. Dr. Donaldson's *Studies in Muslim Ethics* is thus a pioneer work, and is sure of a welcome in many quarters, not unmixed with some curiosity as to how he acquits himself of his task.

It may be said at once that the critic who is looking for faults and weaknesses will find them in plenty. The Arabic names and terms scattered throughout the book are full of errors; many passages of both Arabic prose and poetry are woefully mistranslated (*e.g.* on pp. 36-7, 83, 93) and correspondingly misinterpreted on occasion; and there are numerous small slips in biographical or historical detail. On the other hand, the range of sources which have been drawn on is remarkably wide, and all the significant elements which entered into Arabic and Persian ethical literature are amply illustrated.

It is, in fact, the generous quotation of passages from the original texts that gives the book its chief value. Owing to the character of some of these texts a certain unevenness was unavoidable; the amorphous mass of the Traditions, for example, does not lend itself to the same compact treatment as the organized works of philosophical ethics or the *sufi* poetry of Persia. One cannot help feeling, however, that the author's own tastes have played some part, since he is plainly much more at ease in dealing with these types of thought, or with the expositions of a master-mind like al-Ghazali, than with the Koran and the Traditions. Like most modern writers on ethics, Dr. Donaldson looks for " universal principles ", and he takes a real pleasure in showing how often, in such works as these, Muslim thinkers and mystics approached his ideal.

And yet, as he himself has noted in the first paragraph of his Preface: "As distinguished from Logic and Metaphysics, they (Islamic thinkers) call ethics ' Practical Philosophy '. But it is not a study that they have pursued independently. Always it has been considered in relation to the *Qur'an*, that unique book for Muslims in which their Prophet Muhammad set forth the way of life which he said had been revealed to him by Allah ". No Muslim thinker, therefore, can dissociate his " universal principles " from the principle laid down in the Koran, nor can he abstract his " practical philosophy " from the biological and structural elements of society as he knows it.

It is in relation to these two points that Dr. Donaldson's exposition is most open to criticism, and, at the risk of seeming to be pontifical, the critic is bound to indicate the grounds of his dissatisfaction. On the first point, he confuses the issue by failing to distinguish law from ethics in the Koran. To take one example: Muhammad came preaching an ethical monotheism in a society which had already a highly developed code of virtues based on the concept of Honour, but whose very existence as a society depended on an unswerving acceptance of the duty of blood-vengeance. The Koran regulates by law the limits of retaliation. On this, Dr. Donaldson relegates to a casual footnote (p. 20) the significant phrase of the Koran: " For you in retaliation there is life, O men of understanding ", comments in a later passage (p. 44): " We are not profoundly impressed with a command from the Almighty to mankind that they should observe absolute and exact reciprocity in killing one another", and unaccountably overlooks the ethical injunction (in *Sura* 5, v. 49): "Whoso forgoes his retaliation, it shall be for him an atonement (i.e. for his own sins)".

On the second point, it is generally overlooked that the social situation with which Muhammad was confronted continued equally to confront all later generations of Muslim teachers down to the middle or end of the last century. Everywhere west of Lahore Muslim society was a society of small sedentary communities islanded in a sea of nomadism. The religious leaders of Islam were set a formidable task by the prevalence of the tribal structure in tribal and rural areas, alongside a progressive refinement of tastes and ideals which produced increasingly higher standards of ethical thought in the cultured cities. Islamic ethical thought has thus to present, not a variety of ethical standards, but a single structure of ethics, based upon a foundation accepted as universally valid, but with a series of progressively refined expressions, in which the higher development subsumes the lower. There could be no valid sanction for such a system but religious obligation, based in the first instance on the Koran. And it is this which underlies the development of the oral Tradition relating to Muhammad. The only means by which this complex ethical structure could be held together was to attach each stage of development and level of expression to the person of Muhammad, with the same implication of religious obligation. Thus the problem of the ethical significance of the Traditions is not to be discounted by their diversity, nor dismissed by the question: "Can purely imitative conduct be ethical?", and still less by confusing them with later superstitions.

If it has thus seemed necessary to question some of Dr. Donaldson's judgements in their historical context, it must in fairness be admitted that they may be more closely relevant to the Muslim situation at the present day. For many readers the most interesting section of his book may well be the short chapter showing how some leading figures in the Muslim world are striving—always on the basis of the Koran—to meet the challenge of modern ethical thought. And perhaps the final justification of his study is that it may help Muslims to appreciate more clearly what is involved in that task.

H.A.R.G.

GROSSETESTE

ROBERT GROSSETESTE, BISHOP OF LINCOLN (1235-1253). By J. H. SRAWLEY. Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, No. 7. 3s.

THIS life and assessment of the work of Bishop Grosseteste is both straightforward and competent. The thirty-two pages of text contain a surprising amount of compressed information on Grosseteste's life, work as a scholar, administrator of his see, and share in national politics. The pamphlet has even three pages of footnotes and a useful short bibliography, where the reader is briefly directed to the original sources for Grosseteste's life, the standard modern lives and the more important books bearing on his work. There is also a frontispiece of the chalice, patten and ring found in his tomb when it was opened in 1782. Altogether, a very good three-shillings' worth.

The longest section of the pamphlet deals with Grosseteste's adminstration of his very large diocese of Lincoln, and particularly with his efforts to secure a better parochial clergy, and the subject of visitation. Probably no single episcopal measure has had more important and lasting effects on English Church life than Grosseteste's insistence on the erection of vicarages, in accordance with the direction of the IV Lateran council [1215]. While the eleventh-century reformers had pressed the donation of parishes to monastic houses, as likely to secure more conscientious patrons than the lay landholders, who regarded " their " parishes as valuable pieces of family property, it was now found that the clergy appointed by the monasteries were inadequately maintained and of insufficient learning. There is no indication that they were poorer or more ignorant than the lay lords' parochial chaplains had been, and neither class had security of tenure: for the earlier parish priests had only the contractual security arising from the oath of vassalage they had taken to their lord, and the monastically-appointed clergy took the same oath to their abbot (e.g., as at Burton-on-Trent); but now, in the thirteenth century, the economic subsistence level was rising, the possibility of education greater, and the poverty and insecurity of the parish clergy both more apparent and more remediable. The institution of vicarages (signifying not merely the provision of houses, but also the emoluments of the permanent vicars, the arrangement safeguarded by deeds carefully drawn in each case, imposed on the monastic patron by the bishop) was to be of great service to the countryside.

Canon Srawley's description of Grosseteste's scholarship is necessarily brief. It would not be accepted now that a *studium generale* was so-called because it was available for students from all parts: it denoted schools with more than one faculty. The old course of the seven liberal arts, the conspectus of Greco-Roman learning, was still taught in the greater schools, but now, in addition, with the intensive studies of recent masters on particular aspects of the old subjects, in particular on the more complete study of Aristotelian logic. The new logic was beginning to be applied to theology, and in Grosseteste's day the Aristotelian writings on the natural sciences were also becoming available in translation. Moreover, Arabic mathematics, using the old Indian numerals and the zero, were beginning to interest a few Italian and Cordovan scholars, as they had long interested select Byzantine mathematicians.

It was Grosseteste's distinctive contribution to learning that he had some apprehension of the existence of other cultures than the Latin, *i.e.,* of the Arabic and the Byzantine. Like John the Scot in the ninth century, he translated the works of the sixth-century Syrian bishop who was a Christian disciple of Proclus the neoplatonist, and who wrote under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite: his works had made a massive contribution to Byzantine theology. In contrast to John of Salisbury, whose mind had rested content with the glories of Latin literature, and to St. Thomas Aquinas, who sifted Aristotle from Arabic commentary, Grosseteste's mind roamed more widely outside the periphery of western Latin culture. One of the causes of the increasing separation of the Byzantine and Latin Churches was that they now moved in a different thought-world: Grosseteste was one of the relatively few medieval scholars attracted to move in both.

M. D.

THE WAR IN AFRICA

THE ROMMEL PAPERS. Edited by B. H. LIDDELL HART. Translated by PAUL FINDLAY. Collins. 25s.

THIS is a notable addition to the many books which have been written by or about the German Generals since the end of the war. The Papers cover Rommel's military career from May 1940 when he led his Panzer division in the van of Hitler's invasion forces in the West to October 1944 when he was permitted to commit suicide in order to save himself from a worse fate at Hitler's hands. They consist mainly of Rommel's own account of his operations, based on notes dictated by him at the time to an A.D.C., supplemented by extracts from letters to his wife, to whom he wrote almost daily. We are told that he started to write the story of the invasion of France by the Allies in 1944, but that the manuscript was destroyed and there are other gaps in the narrative which are filled by his son Manfred and General Fritz Bayerlein. The whole is edited, at the special request of Rommel's family, by Liddell Hart, whose military writings are said to have made a deep impression upon him and who also contributes an Introduction.

The main interest of the book centres in the narrative of the Two Years War in Africa 1941-43, with which Rommel's name will always be associated. As a major-general on Hitler's headquarters staff during the lightning campaign in Poland, Rommel had an exceptional opportunity of acquiring an insight into the principles and methods of mechanized warfare. In February 1941, after distinguished service in command of a Panzer division in France, he is recommended to Hitler as " the man who would most quickly adapt himself to the altogether different conditions of the African theatre " and is appointed commander of the German Afrika Korps. This was, from the German point of view, a singularly happy selection since Rommel not only had a subtle and flexible mind and a flair for improvisation, but he possessed in full measure the offensive spirit which at that time was sadly lacking in the Italian Allies.

Rommel has an exceptional gift for clear exposition and his detailed account of his battles, followed by reflections on them in retrospect, will be of great value to professional soldiers, military critics and other students of military history. He has an obvious concern for his own place in history and is inclined to dramatise himself and his troops, but the accuracy and objectivity of his narrative are remarkable, especially when we take into account that he was unable to revise it in the light of post-war knowledge.

For the general reader the interest will lie chiefly in the picture it reveals of Rommel's personal qualities. It is easy to see from these Papers why Rommel not only became the idol of the German troops under his command but won the admiration and respect, bordering on affection, of his opponents and why his fame, assiduously fostered by German propaganda, became legendary. His method of conducting operations, although at times disconcerting to his staff and to his chief subordinates, makes him the ideal soldier's general. He is in constant personal touch with his troops, shares their dangers and hardships, himself takes over the command of units at critical moments and has a knack of appearing at the vital point in the middle of the battle. He is not only a good fighter but a sportsman. To him, up to Alamein at least, war is a glorious game and he is careful to observe its rules, displaying an old-fashioned chivalry towards his opponents and a scrupulous fairness in the treatment of prisoners. As is well known, the British command were compelled to take counter-measures and the influence of the Rommel legend on the Eighth Army was effectively dispelled when Montgomery took command.

After his check by Auchinleck at the Alamein defences and his defeat by Montgomery at Alam Halfa when he failed in his attempt to turn the British position, Rommel is no longer the happy warrior of the early part of the campaign. The initiative passes to Montgomery; Rommel becomes depressed and loses hope of victory. His letters to his wife written in the course of the Alamein battle show the nervous strain under which he was labouring. In retrospect he attributes his defeat at Alamein to the superiority of the British equipment, the failure of his own supplies, the domination of the air by the R.A.F., and Hitler's " Victory or Death " order which, coming to him at a crucial stage of the battle, particularly incensed him. He might well have added as a contributory factor Montgomery, but though generally fair in his assessment of the British generals who opposed him he seems to do less than justice to Montgomery. He accuses him of excessive caution and hesitancy during the retreat from Alamein to Mareth and comments that " Montgomery has an absolute mania for always bringing up reserves at his back and risking as little as possible." Not such a bad fault, we should have thought, in a general, but Montgomery and he are clearly poles apart in temperament and whenever the two generals opposed each other in a major action, Montgomery was the victor. It must be added that Rommel gives a more balanced assessment of Montgomery in the closing chapter.

Rommel's merits as a general have been the subject of much controversy and some military experts consider that they have been overrated. There can be no doubt of his outstanding tactical ability and his inspiring leadership, but he seems to have lacked a gift for the unspectacular side of a soldier's business, administration; and, as Wavell says in his Cambridge lectures, restating in modern terms what Socrates had said over 2,000 years earlier, administration is the crux of generalship. Rommel complains continuously of the over-organisation, muddle and antiquated methods of the supply staffs in Italy, but there is little evidence in these Papers that he himself had built up an efficient supply organisation in Africa in support of his troops. In another respect, too, it might be held that he fails to pass the test. As Liddell Hart points out in the Introduction, Rommel has a mercurial temperament and is apt to swing from moods of exaltation to depression. Rommel, who is extremely sensitive of any criticism of himself and his troops, records with bitter resentment that after his defeat in Africa he is reputed to be " cock-a-hoop in victory, but a prev to despair in defeat ". The reader of these Papers will probably feel that there is some justice in this criticism and that, for all his superb fighting qualities, Rommel lacked the robustness and stamina of body and mind which can stand the prolonged strain of leadership in war.

FRANK WHITTLE.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

GOD WHO ACTS: BIBLICAL THEOLOGY AS RECITAL. By G. ERNEST WRIGHT. S.C.M. Press. 8s.

THIS monograph is a vigorous statement which sets out to uphold the position of Biblical Theology as an autonomous study, and as the expression of a living faith. It is refreshing to find Dr. Wright clearly demonstrating that the core of the Old Testament is a primary irreducible datum, which is independent of the present state of fluidity in the field of Pentateuchal criticism. He asserts that Biblical Theology consists in recital, " in which Biblical man confesses his faith by reciting the formative events of his history as the redemptive handiwork of God ". This recital, which binds together the Old and New Testaments in one grand Kerygmatic theme, was the essence of early Christian preaching. In this, the Election, by God, of Israel, and the Covenant promulgated at Sinai, are seen as pre-views or types of the acts of deliverance wrought by God in Christ. These pre-views are historically related to the " climactic event " of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, who has called into being the New Israel and led his people into the Promised Land of his Kingdom. This basic theme is enriched by the prophetic ideas of the New David and the Suffering

Servant, which were moulded into one by our Lord himself, in order to express the royal and redemptive aspects of his mission. Dr. Wright can find no place for the Wisdom literature in the main stream of Biblical Theology, since it lacks the elements of tension and election which are characteristic of the main theme, and is prudential in outlook. Here it is not inappropriate to comment that the experience of Job is a " type ", which has much light to throw upon the meaning of the Cross.

Just as God is known by his acts in history, so Biblical man is to be judged by his response to those acts. We may well be grateful to the author for the way in which he reveals the excesses of Dialectic Theology in its doctrine of man, by showing Biblical man to be a responsible being. Sin also is no abstraction. It emerges in the complexity of history and is brought to light by the acts and judgements of God. The perennial problem it presents is lack of faith, on the part of the elect, in the God who acts and leads.

When he turns to the question as to the mode of presentation of Biblical Theology, Dr. Wright criticizes both the mythologists and the de-mythologists, chiefly on the ground of their defective view of the historical objectivity of the Biblical datum. This question of presentation inevitably involves the matter of authority of Biblical religion. It is on this vital point that the author is least convincing. It may be true, as he says earlier, that the Bible has little or nothing to say about the spirituality of God conceived of as Pure Being. But Dr. Wright could have pointed out with greater clarity that it does have a great deal to say about the Spirit of God, who gives to Biblical religion its unique authenticity, and to the Church its authority to proclaim that religion as an objective, compelling fact. Throughout this book there is suspicion towards dogmatic theology because it is alleged to vitiate the " inner dynamics " of Biblical Theology and to substitute a static authoritarianism for the tension of Biblical faith. This element of polemic has the unfortunate effect of leading Dr. Wright to set up an unwarranted dichotomy between the authority of the Church and the authority of Biblical theology, and to place over against each other Scripture and Creeds. This dissipation of authority can only lead to that subjective diffuseness which Dr. Wright is genuinely anxious to avoid.

But on the whole this book is a valuable contribution to the growing realization of the unity of Biblical Theology. The stress on the intermingling of revelation and history in the objective, saving acts of which God is the source, is an effective answer to those who would differentiate between the Bible as a source-book of religious ideas, and Biblical Theology as a subjective exercise. Revelation is unequivocally asserted to be an objective fact, possessing a constraining insight into the purpose and meaningfulness of the operation of God within the historical process. The part that the Old Testament plays in all this is ably expounded. As Dr. Wright points out, it was the Old Testament which first broke with polytheism and asserted the uniqueness of Yahweh, which revealed him to be no mere nature-god, but the Lord of history who is known by his saving acts, and whose categorical standards admit of no judicious compromise. Above all we must be grateful to Dr. Wright for the way he pleads for an end to the present situation, in which Old and New Testament scholars are divided into compartments, and for the beginning of a new era in which Biblical Theology will be treated as a study in its own right.

ALLAN JOHNSON.

THE GREAT SCHISM AND THE COUNCILS

ESSAYS IN THE CONCILIAR EPOCH. By E. F. JACOB. Manchester University Press. 25s.

WHEN Professor Jacob published ten of these twelve essays in 1943, he opened a window on to the half-medieval, half-modern world of the Conciliar movement. All these earlier essays have now been revised, and in some cases they now incorporate new material. The last two essays in the book are new.

The term Conciliar epoch, as Professor Jacob explains, includes not only the years in which the three great councils of Pisa, Constance and Basle were held, but the years of discussion and controversy between the beginning of the Great Schism in 1378 and the adoption of the Conciliar method to end it. At a time when the Christian Church in western Europe was a working international organization: when there was actually an international system of church courts, and when these courts as a matter of practical business recorded wills and adjudged suits arising out of them, took cognizance of matrimonial causes, perjury, usury and all the many suits involving the clergy, and when the papal *curia* was the ultimate (and much used) appeal tribunal from all these courts: when, moreover, the *camera* of the papal *curia* enforced the papal taxation of the clergy and shared with the royal exchequers the business of collection and also the proceeds of such taxation, it was exceedingly and urgently inconvenient that there should be one pope in Rome and another in Avignon. The whole sanction of canon law, as Dr. Ullmann has shown in his *Medieval Papalism*, lay as the most weighty obstacle in the road leading to the healing of the Schism. Professor Jacob quotes Conrad of Gelnhausen to this effect: " it is impossible for a general council to be held without the authority of the pope "; and to allow one of the two papal claimants to convoke such a council was to concede beforehand the validity of his claim to the papacy.

In his earlier essays, Professor Jacob dealt with conciliar thought and its exponents: with the share of Englishmen in the councils; with William of Ockham and Sir John Fortescue; with the Brethren of the Common Life and the canon regular Thomas, born at Kempen, who summed up his ideal of the Christian life in the *De Imitatione Christi;*

with Nicholas of Cusa; and with the content of the historical terms, " Middle Ages " and " Renaissance ".

The title of the new essay, *Verborum florida venustas,* is drawn from the record in archbishop Chichele's register of a petition from the University of Oxford that its graduates should receive due promotion. The petition itself was in flowery and involved Latin. Professor Jacob shows, with many pleasant examples, that a pure and vigorous English prose style was in use, which contrasted with the florid involutions of the then esteemed Latin prose. " In proportion as this English develops, writing in Latin becomes flowery and involved ". He deals with the Latin prose of John of Whethamstede, a patron of literature like duke Humphrey of Gloucester, with the style of the papal notariate, and with fifteenth-century letter-books.

The last new essay, entitled " English university clerks in the later Middle Ages ", deals with problems of their maintenance and promotion to benefices, the goal of their scholastic labours. The letter-books of *dictatores* supply models of moving appeals from scholars to their parents for more funds; about 1450 a careful student living in a hall could manage on 50s. a year, but, apparently, parental supplies were often behindhand or had been already anticipated. Professor Jacob has shown in earlier work how the much reprehended system of papal provision to benefices was beloved by the universities. It was not merely the equivalent of the modern " university appointments bureau ", it was something much better: it might be hoped to provide the jobs asked for. From 1335 the University of Oxford took to compiling a common petition to the pope for provisions, wherein was noted the quality of the benefice with which it would be desirable to reward each specified graduate. The inclusion of a name in such a petition did not guarantee immediate promotion: it was an approach to promotion. From the point of view of tutors hoping to find work for their pupils, it must have been a wonderful system. Dr. Jacob's essay provides fascinating details of the way it worked.

M.D.

BRITISH ERRORS

DIPLOMATIC TWILIGHT: 1930-1940. By WALFORD SELBY. John Murray. 16s.

SIR WALFORD SELBY, like everyone else who served as a British diplomat or in the Foreign Office in the decade before the outbreak of the last war, has been asking himself how it came about that a country which in 1930 was politically " on top of the world ", at least as far as Europe was concerned, found itself in 1940 fighting alone for its life against seemingly overwhelming odds. The astonishment and exasperation at the *dégringolade* of that decade, which he feels in common with nearly all his former colleagues, have been intensified in his case by the facts that during the most critical years he was Minister at Vienna, where the consequences of British errors of policy were most seriously and immediately felt, and that he had previously been Private Secretary for many years to successive Secretaries of State in the Foreign Office, so that he felt specially entitled to make his voice heard in warning or criticism and specially aggrieved when, as was usually the case, it was not heeded. He had also had much to do with the organization of the Foreign Office, and in that connexion had suffered severely from Sir Warren Fisher and his claim to control everything from the Treasury; and this seems to have led him to the main conclusion of his book—that the root cause of our mistakes and disasters was disorganization in the Foreign Service and in the machinery of government in general, which prevented the political chiefs from obtaining a clear view of the situation abroad or of the policy required for dealing with it.

This conclusion, I must say at once, is not borne out by my own experience—I was in the Foreign Office throughout those critical years; and while sympathizing to the full with the author's condemnation of the Warren Fisher system I cannot but feel that in attributing so decisive an importance to a matter of organization he is confusing a secondary with a primary cause of historical events. The system, even when used still more despotically by Sir Horace Wilson, did not conceal from Mr. Chamberlain the fact that the Foreign Office was opposed to his " appeasement " policy; and no change of system could have prevented the adoption of that policy by an obstinate and self-opinionated Prime Minister who, in pursuit of it, was even ready to intrigue with a dictator against his own Foreign Secretary.

The root of the trouble, as historians like Sir Lewis Namier have pointed out, was that Britain had the misfortune to be governed at a critical time by two inadequate Prime Ministers, one of whom had a fanatical conviction that he knew all about foreign affairs and that these could be dealt with on the same lines as the municipal affairs of Birmingham, while the other, Mr. Baldwin, refused to take any interest in them, saying when they were discussed in the cabinet: " Wake me up when it's over ". Sir Walford's feelings of personal obligation towards the political chiefs whom he served as Private Secretary, particularly Sir Austen Chamberlain, seem to have blinded him to the fact that politicians were responsible, not only technically but in actual fact, for all the vital decisions of which he suffered the consequences. For most of these Foreign Office advice was either not sought at all or disregarded when proffered; and the one important exception, the Hoare-Laval agreement on Abyssinia, is not one which he can cite in support of his thesis, since he evidently shares the attitude of mind which inspired it.

This is the more remarkable since it is the one and only piece of " appeasement " which can fairly be laid at the door of Lord Vansittart, against whom Sir Walford shows a consistent animus not easily explicable in terms of policy, for they were at one on the main issue of Germany; and an examination of this question will show, I think, what is wrong, not only with Sir Walford's outlook but with that of nearly all professional diplomats of the old school.

The Hoare-Laval agreement was recommended in those quarters in the belief that Mussolini must at all costs be brought into the alliance against Hitler; but that belief rested upon two false assumptions. In the first place it was assumed that because the true interests of Italy required resistance to German expansion, Mussolini could be counted upon to oppose it; but the interests of Italy were one thing and the aims of Fascism and of Mussolini personally were quite another. Fascism, like Nazism, was an aggressive and destructive force which could not permanently be harnessed to the defence of the *status quo*. " Italy ", " Germany ", " Russia ", etc., were static conceptions not applicable in an age of aggressive ideologies, and the politicians and officials who thought in these terms were doomed to the same surprises as those who thought of eighteenth-century diplomatic combinations in the age of the French Revolution.

Secondly—what was still more serious—it was assumed that moral considerations could be disregarded: if Mussolini wanted his pound of African flesh it must be given him. That, however, was too much for British opinion; and Mr. Baldwin, who understood nothing of foreign affairs but understood the British public, knew that the agreement, and Sir Samuel Hoare, must be jettisoned if his government was to survive. There must, in short, be a moral basis for any policy which the British people can be expected to support, but, if their moral feelings are roused, they will support it to the hilt; and if Mr. Baldwin had been less timid or less lazy he could have pursued, with full popular backing, the true policy of using the League of Nations to crush Mussolini first and then, if necessary, turning it against Hitler.

Sir Walford, however, does not see this. He writes of British opinion " going off on the false scent " of Mussolini's misdeeds, and with approval of Mr. Chamberlain's policy at the time of Mr. Eden's resignation and of the support he received from Lord Perth and Lady Austen Chamberlain. Can he have read Sir L. Namier's scathing comment on their activities in Rome ?

Nevertheless, in spite of what I cannot but regard as the failure of its main thesis, of a certain inconsequence in other parts of it, where the author diverges into personal reminiscences of " hunting, fishing and shooting ", and also of some strange tricks of style, such as a very free and un-English use of exclamation marks, the book is of more than usual interest as revealing, more frankly than has ever been done before, what it meant to be a British diplomat, and to have the courage of one's convictions, in the years of confusion and decay before the last war.

LAURENCE COLLIER.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S HANDBOOK

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S ENCHIRIDION. Translated from the Benedictine Text with Introduction and Notes by ERNEST EVANS. S.P.C.K. 15s.

CANON EVANS is a welcome example of the parish priest who has not only kept up his reading but also finds time and energy to spare to share the fruits of his reading with others. His edition of the treatise of Tertullian against Praxeas published a few years ago was a notable achievement. The present work is much less substantial in character but is marked by the same qualities of mind. The Enchiridion was an admirable choice. It was intended by St. Augustine as a handbook. It is comparatively brief, and contains much that is not only of interest in itself but that also represents the chief interests of Augustinian theology. The Introduction serves its purpose to admiration. It really introduces the reader to his author. The translation runs smoothly and well and the notes are concise and clear. The expert will learn nothing that he did not know already but the general reader who after all represents the majority of the reading public will find all that he needs for his enjoyment and edification. He need not fear either that he will be overloaded with detail or left without competent guidance at the critical points.

H. E. W. TURNER.

A SHAKESPEAREAN THEORY

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHAKESPEARE. By K. J. SPALDING. George Ronald. 12s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Spalding traces chronologically through the plays of Shakespeare a clearly developing conception of the nature of man and the universe. The early plays, he thinks, embody the idea of the chaotic state of man in society. From *Love's Labour's Lost* onwards, Shakespeare is portraying various types of "physicians" — statesmen or leaders who hope to heal the disorders of man in society. Sometimes he thinks all human efforts to this end are doomed to fail. In the middle tragedies, Shakespeare turns from the condition of society to the situation of the individual: men have high potentialities which they seem unable to realize, being frustrated either by their own natures or by fate. In the later plays, the heroines are seen as suffering instruments of providence (no longer equated with chance or fate) healing a sick world. The "benefit of ill" means that we need no longer reproach providence for permitting evil to exist, since "Better is by evil still made better". Shakespeare has become an idealist and an optimist.

This makes a coherent story—but how far can Shakespeare's plays be used as evidence of Shakespeare's own philosophical development?

The relationship between a man's philosophy and his art is a highly subtle one, unless the " art " is as straightforwardly didactic as Fulke Greville's *Fame and Honour* or Daniel's *Musophilus.* A Shakespearean play is an artifact, not a chemical compound containing as one of its elements the current philosophy of the playwright. The play does not convey a moral judgement: it acts as a moral stimulus. " The absence of explicit statement in the plays invites such a statement from members of the audience ", said Professor Harbage in his book, *As They Liked It.* The problem, in fact, is presented by Shakespeare, but he leaves the audience to solve it. We are all tempted to set out some aspects of our own philosophy of life, supported by quotations from the plays.

Our real material for these statements is not the plays themselves but our concepts of the plays—concepts which differ as widely as the critics who formulate them. Sir Edmund Chambers described the Duke in *Measure for Measure* as indulging in " the antics of a cat with a mouse "; for Miss Pope, he was the epitome of the Christian magistrate; and for Mr. Battenhouse, the type of Christ. Is it safe to deduce Shakespeare's own philosophy from such a debatable play? We must be cautious with cross-references. It is unwise to argue from the " philosophy " of one play to that of another: they are separate entities, not chapters in a thesis, or parallel case-studies.

A further technical difficulty must be met. No speech can be taken in isolation as a true statement in which the playwright believes. Shakespeare, unlike Jonson or Chapman, was not given to " chorus " utterances, and almost every speech is in character. Each has its particular dramatic situation and its significance in relation to the rest of the play. These modifications must be held in mind. Nor must it be forgotten that the plays were meant to entertain an audience, not to instil moral philosophy.

Professor Spalding has not allowed himself space for the necessary qualifying statements. He assumes that his interpretations of the plays need no defence. His treatment of many of the later plays is admirable, but he has taken too much for granted before 1604. Is it wise merely to assert of Helena that " her physical cure of the King was the prelude to her spiritual cure of the Count "? It might equally well be asserted that Bertram was her Pools win, and that she treated him as a cheque she was determined to cash. Alternative interpretations should be discussed in the text before a conclusion is reached.

The plays are handled in strict chronological order. The first group is labelled Social Man, the second, The Statesman, the third, Individual Man, the fourth, Man's Salvation. The last two categories present few difficulties, but the first two involve curious juxtapositions. " Social Man " covers all the comedies and histories up to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* each of which is supposed to depict the chaotic state of man in society. This fits the *Henry VI* plays, but can *The Comedy of Errors* be interpreted as a serious comment on the human situation? Or *Titus Andronicus*?—an exercise in Senecan horrors and rhetoric. In the next group, the statesmen include Friar Lawrence (who becomes the play's centre), Oberon (magic manipulations), Portia and Rosalind. *Much Ado About Nothing* comes into this group, but its statesman is not named.

Othello, Macbeth and *King Lear* are studied in more detail. Justice is done to their tragic dilemmas, though the quotations sometimes outweigh the text. The self-reproach of Othello and Macbeth, says Professor Spalding, " is to them more terrible than to common men in the degree that they have sinned more fearfully against the Self acknowledged by them ". There is little in this chapter or in the chapter of man's salvation to provoke disagreement. Professor Spalding treats three of the later plays as a group (*Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale*)—a treatment justified by the recurring theme of reconciliation by means of the second generation. The heroines remain true to themselves, though heart-struck; some of the villains are converted by the beauty of their example. Virtue can triumph over evil, as every man hopes.

On *The Tempest* Professor Spalding is on less sure ground. Does it really provide Shakespeare's explanation of the purpose of evil in the universe? Prospero forgives his enemies, but he does not thank them for his enforced education. The forgiven enemies are not remade, in the shape of virtuous men. Antonio and Sebastian do not repent; Caliban's

> I'll be wise hereafter,
> And seek for grace

sounds like an expedient submission to a stronger force.

Shakespeare's business, after all, was not with philosophy. No philosophy can " make a Juliet ". He was concerned with men in human situations, not with theories about the nature of man and the universe. In so far as Professor Spalding's interpretation of some of Shakespeare's plays deepens our appreciation of them, we should be grateful to him.

KAY BURTON.

GODFREY GOODMAN

GODFREY GOODMAN: BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER 1563-1656. By GEOFFREY SODEN. S.P.C.K., for the Church Historical Society. 42s.

GODFREY GOODMAN is the only English diocesan bishop reputed to have left the allegiance of Canterbury for that of Rome. He came of a Tudor Welsh family, whose rise to wealth reflected excellent connexions at court. Godfrey's uncle was Dean of Westminster. His father was Chapter Clerk. From 1560 to 1641 there were always a Goodman or two about the Abbey. The Goodmans clearly looked after one another.

Godfrey, like his cousin John Goodman, whose fate as a captured seminary priest was hot politics in 1640, lacked the worldly prudence which was otherwise so profitably spread in the family. He fitted none of the parties of the day. Gentle with Puritans, he tried to reconcile the claims of Canterbury and Rome. He admired James I, but gave offence by criticizing his theological pretensions and rejecting his political doctrines.

Greater troubles came upon him from his disagreements with Charles I and Laud. Laud and Goodman had much in common, but could not agree. Both wished the exaltation of the Church. Both reverenced the deliverances of the ancient fathers out of what Goodman called the "premisses of Scripture." Goodman's beautiful exposition of the mutual bearing of faith and reason, in the *Two Great Mysteries of Christian Religion* (1653), would have pleased Laud, being fully in the tradition of Aquinas and Hooker. Laud might have written the last words of Goodman's *Court of King James*, that "the Church and the State do mutually support and give assistance to each other, and if one change the other can have no sure foundation."

On the other hand Goodman as a nominee of James I, and a relic of the old court, was out of harmony with the new. Goodman and Laud were of incompatible characters, reflected in their different ways of writing; "Goodman's like Hooker's spacious, graceful, leisurely, with a pleasant unction; but Laud's generally that of a man who must say what he has to say, and that quickly." Goodman was not at all Laud's ideal of an efficient diocesan administrator. His reports, which Laud as metropolitan required annually, were unsatisfactory and irregular. He would sooner live at Windsor where he was canon, than near Gloucester where he was bishop. He tried to get out of his bishopric (in the autumn of 1633 by way of the richer see of Hereford), "the better to intend my devotions." His wish to keep Gloucester *in commendam* with Hereford, which is thought to have lost him his translation, perhaps had in view the payment of first fruits owed to the Crown from his entry to the poorer see, or, as Mr. Soden suggests, of a subsidy overdue. In February, 1633, he had vowed within two years either to establish a house of scholars at his episcopal home, or to retire to a religious cell. The prospect of Laud's promotion to Canterbury perhaps strengthened this urge to retire.

There were between him and Laud also differences of principle. Although Mr. Soden presents Laud as more fully Erastian than he was (according to Mr. Bourne, "neither an Erastian nor a theocrat"), Goodman (as somewhat theocratically inclined) rejected the Laudian doctrine of the regal power set forth in the canons of 1640. Laud thought Goodman's opposition to the canons popishly inspired, but Mr. Soden shows that Goodman had not become a Roman Catholic by 1653. Seeing that the language of his will, two days before his death, is at least as patient of an Anglican as of a Roman interpretation, perhaps he never did.

Mr. Soden's sympathy with Goodman leads him into terminological difficulties. He uses " pontifician " and " papalist " for " Roman

Catholic," a phrase which he thinks anachronistic—an odd judgement, since Goodman himself on occasion used it. Mr. Soden accepts wholly the Chesterbelloc view of English history, and thus reduces Elizabeth I to a figurehead for "the Anglican schooner," sees only idealism in the rule of Charles I in contrast to the cynical class interest of English government after the Revolution, and repeats Disraeli's foolish phrase "Venetian oligarchy." He seems to think that Locke excluded papists from toleration as idolatrous, whereas Locke was emphatic that idolatry was no ground for exception.

Mr. Soden has in this book, in spite of its being longer than necessary by some repetition and digression, performed a good work, increasing our knowledge of the seventeenth-century Church and presenting Goodman in a truer light, more as the charming man that Charles Williams discerned (for all his faults and incompetence), than the mere impoverished bundle of confusion uncomprehended by Carlyle.

R. W. GREAVES.

A DOCUMENT OF MYSTICISM

THE REVELATIONS OF MECHTHILD OF MAGDEBURG (1210-1297) or THE FLOWING LIGHT OF THE GODHEAD. Translated from the Manuscript in the Library of the Monastery of Einsiecleln. By LUCY MENZIES. Longmans, Green & Co. 18s.

THIS important document of medieval mysticism has had to wait long for translation. But it has waited for a successful translator. Miss Menzies has done full justice to the poetry of the original and given Mechthild a worthy English dress. In a few places, it is true, I found it difficult to make sense of the words. But this, I have no doubt, is due either to a difficulty in reading the original or to obscurity in its expression.

There can be no doubt that Mechthild reached the high places of contemplative prayer or of her burning love for God and her neighbour. Nor of her skill in handling the literary idiom of her time, the imagery and sentiments of romantic love in pleasant places of dew and spring flowers, its taste for allegory, personification, enumeration, of virtues, for example or spiritual states. But dare I avow it ? It is an idiom that makes little appeal to me. I find the personification of abstractions frigid, the enumeration tedious. And though I am, I hope, not blind to the beauty of the romantic love, it is not a genre that attracts me. Moreover in spite of a division into seven books, there is no order, no arrangement. Precept and prayer, prose and verse, eschatology and prophecy, vision and autobiography—all are thrown together, pell mell. Much could be done to remedy this by a subject index which would enable the reader to select particular topics and read continuously what is said of them. A far clearer view of

Mechthild's work would undoubtedly result.

Little is said of the substance of mystical prayer, experienced union with the imageless Godhead. The book consists in the main of the concepts and images into which Mechthild's subconscious attempted to translate her experience. In consequence much in the book expresses rather contemporary religion as Mechthild lived it so intensely, than her personal apprehension of ultimate Reality. It therefore belongs rather to religious history of which it is a most valuable document than to the literature of contemplative prayer.

Mechthild's eschatology is a most interesting reflection of current beliefs.

Like Drithelm more than five centuries earlier she sees a place of happiness intermediate between purgatory and heaven. It is not to be confused with the earthly paradise which she also saw whose sole inhabitants are Enoch and Elias. Moreover, though her language is imprecise and she does not go so far as to hold with Pope John XXII that even the blessed are not in heaven till the last day, she certainly regards their bliss as incomplete. Even Our Lady's body lacks its full glory. Miss Menzies points to resemblances between Mechthild's picture of heaven and Dante's. But its vagueness contrasts strikingly with Dante's precision. And what are sinners and unbaptised children doing in heaven ? (64). Is there some textual error here ? The visions of hell and fiends are as horrible as they are grotesque. The devil called ' Barbed-hook ' suggests the names of Dante's fifth Bolgia. There are sinners in Purgatory ignorant whether they are saved or damned. This view, to be found in the vision of the Monk of Eynsham and still in St. John of the Cross, is a survival of the original belief that Purgatory is distinct from Hell only in its temporal duration. There is prophecy of the last days, as always, believed to be imminent. A new religious order will be founded—its rule and habit are described in detail—to combat Antichrist and be his victims, to be followed by Enoch and Elias brought from Paradise for witness and martyrdom.

Distrust and distaste for the more fantastic features of the Revelations must not however blind us to the beauty and profundity of many passages. For example, one of many, what is said of the power of prayer:

> That prayer has great power which a person makes with all his might. It makes a sour heart sweet, a sad heart merry, a poor heart rich, a foolish heart wise, a timid heart brave, a sick heart well, a blind heart full of sight, a cold heart ardent. It draws down the great God into the little heart, it draws the hungry soul up into the fullness of God, it brings together two lovers, God and the soul in a wondrous place where they speak much of love.

And, although I find the repetition of love passages cloying, I can best subscribe to Evelyn Underhill's admiration—quoted by the editor —for the poem in which Mechthild describes her encounted with the Divine Lover " in the morning, in the dew " when " The Princes comes to greet thee in the dew and the song of the birds," and her circling dance of praise " from love to knowledge, knowledge to fruition, from fruition to beyond all human sense. Now comes a blessed stillness—He gives Himself to her and she to Him."

This is the very substance of mysticism.

E. I. WATKIN.

EARLY FRANCISCAN LIFE

FRATRIS THOMAE VULGO DICTI DE ECCLESTON TRACTATUS DE ADVENTU FRATRUM MINORUM IN ANGLIAM. Edited by A. G. LITTLE. Manchester University Press. 18s.

THE WORK of the late Dr. A. G. Little on the history of the Franciscans won gratitude from the present heads of the Order, from all historians of the Middle Ages and from the general public. Dr. Little first edited the *De Adventu* for a French series in 1909, and it remained the standard scholarly edition for forty years, during the last of which it was very difficult to obtain. After what Professor David Knowles calls "a long scholar's life of more than half a century, he succeeded by patient research, careful editing, luminous expositions and wise inspiration in creating a literature of the [English] province which leaves little to be desired for accuracy and completeness of information ". Dr. Little prepared, before his death, a new edition of the *De Adventu*, which has been seen through the press by his pupil, the Rev. J. R. H. Moorman, Principal of Chichester Theological College. Dr. Little was for many years the close friend of T. F. Tout and used to lecture on palæography to Manchester students: it is fitting that this definitive edition of the *De Adventu* should have been published by the M.U.P., and by the aid of the Tout Memorial Publication Fund. It is indeed a monument to learning.

The author of the *De Adventu*, who called himself simply " brother Thomas ", compiled a history of the English Franciscan province from the time of the arrival of brother Agnello of Pisa and his eight companions in 1224. Brother Thomas joined the Order in 1232-3 and wrote his chronicle in 1258-9; he wrote with simplicity, sobriety and accuracy. His record is one of the most valuable sources of information about the early history of the Franciscan Order.

Dr. Little's introduction is packed with valuable information and comment. The province, he writes, was divided into four custodies, within which the custodians exercised authority over the houses within their charge by visitation, enforcing the varying customs of the custodies about the details of the Franciscan life; in 1256 there were forty-nine of these Franciscan houses in England. They were not, as was once believed, founded "in the suburbs among the dregs of the population", for the first settlements were actually made within the walls of towns (as at London, Cambridge, Lincoln, York, Winchester, Salisbury, Yarmouth): but, as the donors of sites could not usually afford or obtain those with great amenities, the new friaries were in many cases founded in undesired spots near rubbish pits, shambles or cess-pools, or in low-lying places liable to flooding. The municipal authorities welcomed the new missioners and, in accordance with the Franciscan desire for corporate as well as individual poverty, it became the accepted custom in England for the Franciscan friaries to be held by the municipalities to the use of the friars.

Dr. Little stresses the success of the early Franciscans in combining zeal for poverty with love of knowledge, the latter inculcated in Oxford by their *lector*, Grosseteste. " How far and in what direction this new element changed the spirit of the Franciscan Order are questions too large to discuss here. It is enough to note that for some years the friars of the English province reconciled ideals which St. Francis regarded as incompatible ".

M. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent review.

GENERAL

A History of Philosophy. Vol. III: Ockham to Suarez. By Frederick Copleston. Burns Oates. 30s.

The third volume of a work marked throughout by both scholarship and insight into the changing trends of philosophical thought. In this volume the student of Ockham and the rise of Renaissance thought will find much of importance.

Poets and Mystics. By E. I. Watkin. 318 p. Sheed & Ward. 21s.

A reference to this valuable work on the English mystics will be found in our editorial notes.

The Greeks and the Irrational. University of California Press. London: Cambridge University Press. 37s. 6d.

A learned work which will stimulate thought on an important issue.

Edward Gibbon. By Michael Joyce. Longmans. 10s. 6d.

An excellent short study which includes a critical discussion of Gibbon's handling of Christianity.

Spinoza. By Stuart Hampshire. Penguin Books. 2s. 6d.

A competent and lucid summary of the thought of a great philosopher.

Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir. An Autobiography. 280 p. Seeley Service. 15s.

Many have heard of the author's great achievement in Kashmir. As Lord Halifax says in a foreword, readers of this book will learn what the secret of it was. *A review will follow.*

The Marseilles Block. By Le Corbusier. Transl. by Geoffrey Sainsbury. 96 p. 88 illus. 11 x 8½ ins. Harvill Press. 21s.

With the growth of urban civilisation the Architect is obliged once more to become a social philosopher. Le Corbusier has long filled this rôle, by his works and writing. His ideas have often been misunderstood, for he is no enemy of the historic tradition in architecture. The present work describes a great seventeen-story block at Marseilles in which 1,500 people are housed with many of the amenities of a complete town.

Mau Mau and the Kikuyu. By L. S. B. Leakey. 115 p. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

This work, which will receive a detailed review later, is the work of a scholar born and bred among the Kikuyu people, speaking their language perfectly, who understands African problems. It is a unique contribution to the study of African political development. We strongly recommend it not only to those in Africa but to readers in this country.

Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England. By Sir Charles Firth. Introduction by G. M. Young. (The World's Classics). 488 p. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

This most valuable history, first published in 1900, is now made available in a popular series.

The Baptism of Art. By Wladimir Weidlé. Published 1950. 35 p. Dacre Press. 3s. 6d.

Professor Weidlé brings extensive knowledge to a new understanding of the art of the Catacombs. He shows why before Constantine—in the second and third centuries—Christian art was, as he terms it, " mortified ". It cannot strictly be termed an art. " It is a code of visible forms intended to serve as signs, and this signitive character it draws from its mystery import."

Surrey Anthology. By Eric Parker. 248 p. Museum Press. 16s.

Surrey is still a county of exceptional beauty, with much variety of both wild and cultivated areas. Mr. Eric Parker, whose *Highways and Byways in Surrey* is already familiar to everyone who explores the county, has collected an unusual anthology to which many good writers contribute. The author knows much as naturalist, agricultural expert, and historian. In this book will be found a sale-plan of Aldershot Halimote, the Manor which was later—at the time of the Crimean War—bought by the War Department from a family named Eggar. Of the noted authors who have written about Surrey none did more to draw people to that district than Gertrude Jekyll whom Eric Parker, speaking from personal acquaintance, calls " the greatest gardener of the century." An interesting book.

Africa South of the Sahara. An assessment of human and material resources. Editor: Anne Welsh. Rapporteur: A. M. Bostock. 271 p. Oxford University Press. 25s.

Compiled by a study-group of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

The Conquest of Devil's Island. By Charles Pean. 192 p. Max Parrish. 10s. 6d.

The penal settlement in French Guiana has long been known to the world as a terrible place. This book deserves to be widely read because it describes the notable achievement of the Salvation Army, led by the author, in helping the convicts and finally bringing about the abolition of the settlement in 1938.

Religion and the Modern Mind. By W. T. Stace. 301 p. Macmillan. 21s.

A scholarly, penetrating and philosophical inquiry into the struggle in modern culture between the long established world-view which recognises a divine principle in reality and the naturalistic, or secularist, philosophy which denies the existence of such a principle. The author, who is Professor of Philosophy at Princeton, writes with competence and lucidity. He holds that " the spiritual darkness of the modern mind has its source in the scientific view of the world."

We can commend this work to our readers.

Christianity in an Age of Science. By C. A. Coulson, F.R.S. Oxford University Press. 5s.

This makes an important addition to the Riddell Memorial Lectures. The Rouse Ball Professor of Applied Mathematics brings understanding and logic to the exposition of a burning question. Much is written and spoken erroneously about Christianity and modern science, and, as the author truly observes, the tendency of preachers and other apologists to make capital out of the famous " uncertainty principle " of Heisenberg is improper and erroneous. Yet we have heard it done in more than one pulpit. Professor Coulson offers a more profound approach to the problem of science and religion, and his argument will prove of great value to apologists.

The Range of Reason. By Jacques Maritain. Geoffrey Bles. 15s. This collection of essays by the eminent French philosopher has a unity of theme and purpose and will be found of great interest to those who already know his works.

Some Main Problems of Philosophy. By G. E. Moore. (The Muirhead Library of Philosophy: General Editor H. D. Lewis) Allen & Unwin. 25s.

These lectures delivered at Morley College in the Winter of 1910-11 have become classical. What is Philosophy? True and False Beliefs; Existence in Time; The Notion of Infinity—these are topics which will at times intrigue the mind of the least philosophical. Professor Moore handles them with clarity.

Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales. By David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock. Longmans, Green & Co. 42s.

This is the first catalogue ever printed of all the religious establishments in medieval times. It includes the houses of military orders, colleges and hospitals, many of which are the outcome of research undertaken by Mr. Neville Hadcock while preparing his map of

Monastic Britain for the Ordnance Survey. An introduction of 55 pages by Dom David Knowles adds much to the interest of the book. In many cases particulars of population and wealth are recorded. In all the book forms an impressive document.

Augustine to Galileo. The History of Science, 400-1650. By A. C. Crombie. Falcon Educational Books. 42s.

Many students are now showing us the importance of medieval thought, not only in metaphysics, but also in mathematical physics, and the gradual development of a new approach to space and motion, together with a new logic of induction and experimentation. Mr. Crombie's book throws much light on the subject and illuminates the process which brought about scientific advance at the Renaissance.

Marxism. An Interpretation. By A. C. MacIntyre. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

This is a study of the way in which religious concepts entered into Marxism. The author is Assistant Lecturer in the Philosophy of Religion in the University of Manchester.

Political Thought in England. Tyndale to Hooker. By Christopher Morris. (Home University Library). Oxford University Press. 6s.

Mr. Morris has written a valuable account of political thought in the sixteenth century and traced its development in the works of the great theologians of the time. It is a topic of general interest as well as a field for the specialist.

The Idea of Progress. A Revaluation. By Morris Ginsberg. Methuen. 6s.

Current thought has created scepticism about the actuality of progress fostered in part by the easy optimism of earlier generations—a mood which is natural in certain historic conditions—by the tendency of some psychologists to emphasize the unconscious, and by the reformulation of the doctrine of sin.

Professor Ginsberg, who has studied the theological approach as well as others—briefly summarising the views of Bevan, Inge, Baillie, Whitehead, Barnes, Toynbee, etc.—seems to agree with a view which holds that there is—in Inge's words—" an immanent teleology which is shaping the life of the human race ". This author is one of our best sociologists.

THEOLOGICAL

English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes. c. 1543-1677. By Maurice Frost. S.P.C.K. and Oxford University Press £5 5s.

This book will serve as a memorial to those who in time past have contributed to the music of the Psalms and Hymns. Its main section contains the tunes associated with the Old Version of England and Scotland. (The New Version of Tate and Brady was of later date).

The Rector of Deddington has given the Church of England an enduring asset in this rare and scholarly collection.

The Evolution of the Christian Year. By A. Allan McArthur. 192 p. S.C.M. Press. 15s.

A learned investigation into the development of the liturgical year, setting out a mass of detailed historical evidence upon which readers may form their own conclusions.

What Do We Mean by Reunion? A Reply to *Problems of Reunion* by the Bishop of Derby. By C. B. Moss. 122 p. S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d.

Peter. Disciple—Apostle—Martyr. By Oscar Cullmann. Translated from the German by Floyd V. Filson. 252 p. S.C.M. Press. 18s.

The author is known to all as an eminent scholar. He discusses the controversial question in an unpolemical spirit, and he examines the rôle of St. Peter in formulating the message of the Apostolic Church.

Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament. By William Henry Paine Hatch. xii + 290 p. Harvard University Press. $15.

This volume, which forms a companion to *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament,* contains specimens of 100 MSS forming a series illustrating Greek handwriting from the ninth to the sixteenth century. The author, whose work needs no commendation here, has added a valuable introduction on the subject of Greek palæography which should make the work interesting to the general reader.

Friends for 300 *Years.* By Howard Brinton. 206 p. Allen & Unwin. 15s.

This work by the Director of Pendle Hill in Pennsylvania is something more than an ordinary history of Quakerism. It offers a balanced interpretation of the movement by a philosophical mind.

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. By Watkin Williams. 423 p. Manchester University Press. 28s.

An able study of the character and historic mission of Saint Bernard (first published in 1935), this work will be of particular interest in this, the eight-hundredth year after St. Bernard's death.

Priest and Prophet. By S. C. Carpenter, D.D., Sometime Dean of Exeter. 15 p. S.P.C.K. 2s.

A lecture delivered in Westminster Abbey on the Charles Gore Memorial Foundation. This brief study of a vast subject is erudite and, at the same time, lucid and very readable. It culminates in an appreciation of Charles Gore, an Anglican indeed, since he united in an exceptional degree the gift of both priest and prophet.

A Cambridge Movement. By J. C. Pollock. 288 p. John Murray. 12s.

As the Bishop of Liverpool says in a Foreword, this account of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union is important owing to the contribution made to the life of the Church by men who were associated with the Union in their days at Cambridge.

Everyone's Book about the English Church. By F. C. Happold. Faber & Faber. 12s. 6d.

An unbiased but informative account of the Church of England, its history, liturgy, and constitution. Written for popular reading, but scholarly and interesting to the student also.

On the Love of God. De Deligendo Deo. By Saint Bernard. Newly Translated by A Religious of C.S.M.V. Mowbrays.

In this year of commemoration many, including those who heard Professor Demant's series of broadcasts on the *Practice of the Presence of God,* will turn to this admirable translation.

The Anglican Pulpit To-day. Edited by the Very Rev. Frank D. Gifford, Ph.D. Mowbrays. 15s.

This book, prepared with skill and care, gives a fair representation of preaching in the Anglican Communion and its distinctive character as proved by eminent clergy in all parts of the world. It has an especial interest owing to the large number of American preachers included, many of whom we have not heard in England.

The Hope of Jesus. A Study in Moral Eschatology. By Roderic Dunkerley. Longmans. 15s.

A competent exposition of one view about our Lord's teaching on the coming of the Kingdom of God.

A Theology of Salvation. A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55. By Ulrich E. Simon. 266 p. S.P.C.K. 25s.

This work offers a fresh approach to chapters 40-55 of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, treating these chapters as the kernel of God's Revelation in the Old Testament. There is an able translation enriched with critical material and using the works of the author's principal predecessors.

The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne. Edited by Albert Peel & Leland H. Carson. 560 p. Allen & Unwin. 35s.

This is the second of seven volumes entitled *Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts* which contain authoritative editions of the works of the early Elizabethan Puritans. Robert Harrison and Robert Browne were the initiators of the principles of English Separatism and Congregationalism. This book will be most valuable to students of religious controversy in the sixteenth century.

The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Translated and Edited by Bruno Scott James. Burns Oates. 42s.

The letters of Saint Bernard reveal the mind of a great Churchman and statesman while providing much evidence of twelfth-century history. His influence was extraordinary. A humble man he advised and admonished popes, kings and bishops. He writes this to the Pope Eugenius III.

> Who will grant me before I die to see the Church as she was in the days of old when the Apostles let down their nets to catch not gold and silver but the souls of men? How I hope that you will inherit the words as well as the office of him who said: 'Silver and gold have I none'. What words of thunder!
>
> How many are the deaths of Roman Pontiffs which your eyes have seen in a short time! Let the sudden and sure deaths of your predecessors be a warning to you. Let the short span of their power remind you of how short is the time allotted to you.

Such words are applicable not only to the fleeting glory of ecclesiastical office.

The present edition will be valued by students of Christian history. The translation reads well.

Church and Chapel. By R. A. Edwards. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 8s. 6d.

This is a valuable contribution to the problem of reunion. Canon Edwards studies the events which gave birth to our theological differences and contends that only by a just understanding of the other's position can unity be achieved. All that we can hope to do is to prepare the way for our successors. There is no short cut to a solution. The book is written with insight and will be useful to many of our readers.

God Hidden and Revealed. By John Dillenberger. The Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia. $2.50.

In an introduction Professor Paul Tillich writes:

> Theologians concerned with the reformulation of the Doctrine of God, ministers struggling to impart the presence of God in His Infinite Majesty, and interested laymen who have mastered minimal theological concepts will find Dr. Dillenberger's book indispensable.

The Writings of St. Luke. By Roland Koh. The Diocesan Literature Committee, Hong Kong. 3s. 6d.

The Bishop of Hong Kong, in a Foreword, pays a tribute to the author, who is not only an able New Testament scholar but a hard-working parish priest.

The Church of England Today. By Cyril Garbett, Archbishop of York. Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.

A balanced judgement and the fruit of a lifelong study renders Dr. Garbett's book very valuable to both clergy and laity. This work ought to be available in every public library.

The responsibility of teaching the faith of the Church must in the first place rest upon the clergy; they must know it, the reasons for it, and be able to express it in language which will be understood by their people.

Of how many priests could this be said with entire accuracy and candour? We have more than once quoted the Archbishop on this subject. It should never have been necessary.

A well-informed, accurate survey, inspired by understanding and wide sympathies.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

Novelle Revue Théologique. June, 1953.

THIS French Jesuit review contains an article of special interest to all Christians conscious of the tragedy of a divided Christendom. It is entitled *Quelques initiatives dans la Marche vers l' Unité Chrêtienne,* by Père Clement, S.J.

It speaks of the work and prayer for unity by the Abbé Couturier, who died at Lyons in March, his health never having recovered from his internment by the Germans. The Abbé was for years an indefatigable worker for the cause of unity. In particular, since he knew that nothing could be accomplished or expected in this field above all without constant and fervent prayer, he devised a manner of common prayer in which any Christian could take part without even seeming to compromise his doctrinal position. It was to be a prayer for unity " when and how Christ wills it." Let it not be objected that, since many at least of those so praying, particularly members of the Abbé's Church, are convinced from the outset that they know how, if not when, unity must be achieved, the formula is somewhat insincere. For all must agree in desiring and seeking the unity Christ wills, and any who may be mistaken as to this will, if and when the prayer is heard, be shown their error. It is, in fact, a prayer that Christ will in his way and time bring home to all the truth as to the nature and authority of the Christian Church. Père Clement proceeds to ask what results have so far been obtained by this campaign of prayer, widening every year. As regards actual union there are none. The time is evidently not yet ripe, Christ's hour not yet come. But prayer has not therefore gone unanswered. Much has been achieved for mutual understanding and appreciation, friendship in Christ. Every year a group of French pastors meet a group of French priests for frank but not polemical discussions conducted in an atmosphere of prayer. And near Cluny, where once a monastic revival raised the Church from her deepest degradation, what amounts to a Calvinist monastery with temporary vows has been opened whose members by prayer, example and mission work, aid their Catholic brethren in the battle against modern irreligion. And no doubt much has been done in Germany, Belgium and Holland outside the scope of Père Clement's article.

As he shows, with detailed examples to prove it, not a little has been done to remove that large though unfortunately not the sole ground of division—a diversity of theological idiom.

The Christian East. Vol. II. (New Series). Nos. 5 and 6. Summer, 1953. The Faith Press, London, S.W.1. Annual Subscription 10s.

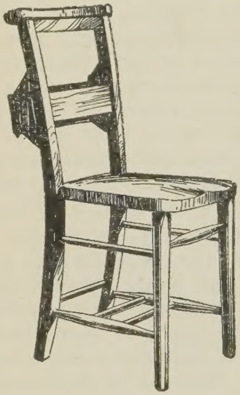
There are a number of good articles in this quarterly published for the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association by the Faith Press. In particular, there is a second instalment of the Letters of Varsanuphins wherein we read of the last stages in the active life of John of Beersheba, and of his final entry into the Lesychastic cell.

The editorial notes include a judicial reference to the views of both Catholic and Orthodox writers, not in full accord, on the subject of Cardinal Stepinac's Pastoral Letter and his subsequent arrest by the Yugoslav authorities.

On another page is a reply by Professor L. A. Zanther to Fr. G. Florovsky's review of his recent book, *Vision and Action*.

Canada and Christendom. Vol. 6. No. 5. Trinity College, Toronto 5, Ontario. Annual Subscription: one dollar.

Contains report of a conference called by the Editorial Board to study the meaning of the parish as a Christian community. The debate merits a wider publicity.



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